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Anne Boleyn.

By Friedmann, Paul

Vol. I.

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de Castelnau, Bishop of Tarbes, was appointed to reside in England, and scarcely a letter of his remains.

For the time, therefore, when Castillon's letters fail us, to the death of Anne, we know very little either of the aims of King Francis in regard to England, or of what the French ambassadors thought and said about English affairs. This leaves many a gap in the present history, for it is impossible, even by the most careful use of every little scrap of information, to make up for the loss of the correspondence of the ambassadors. Perhaps further search may bring some papers to light to remedy this defect, but for the present nothing more can be done.

As to the fourth group of papers, a part of the correspondence of Cardinal Campeggio has been published, and throws considerable light on the events of the years 1528 and 1529.[1] The correspondence of the papal nuntio, Baron de Burgo, has not been printed, and I cannot even say whether it exists, as the papal archives were not open to the public when I was in Rome. My inquiries on the subject have

[1] *Vetera Monumenta*, edited by Dr. A. Theiner, Rome, 1864; *Monumenta Vaticana*, edited by Dr. Hugo Laemmer; and *Lettere di tredici huomini illustri*, edited by Porcacchi.

led to no result. Of the ambassadors and agents of minor states, only two contribute to some extent to the materials for my work. The despatches of the Venetian ambassadors and the Venetian secretary, with sundry reports, were calendared by the late Mr. Rawdon Brown;[1] and the letters and the very interesting diary of Peter Schwaben, twice Danish ambassador at London, have been carefully edited by Mr. C. F. Wegener, the keeper of the Danish State Archives.[2]

Besides this mass of documents there are a great many contemporary histories, chronicles, and accounts, which I could not leave unnoticed. Some of them are very trustworthy, as, for instance, a long memoir drawn up by Cardinal du Bellay for the work of his brother Guillaume. Most of them, however, are confused and misleading, and it is necessary to test with the greatest care the evidence for every statement they contain. If in some instances I have failed to reject an unfounded assertion as to details, or to accept what is true, I hope I may be pardoned on

[1] *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, edited by R. Brown, vols. iv. and v.

[2] *Aarsberetninger fra det kongelige Geheime-Archiv*, edited by C. F. Wegener, vol. iii., Copenhagen, 1860—1865.

account of the difficulties I have had to encounter. As a rule, I have not accepted the evidence of chroniclers and the writers of diaries, except when they report facts which must have been well known to the general public. About other matters they wrote from mere hearsay, and as they were not generally men of high station or men who were trusted by the chief ministers, they were much oftener ill-informed than otherwise.

Having now spoken of my sources in general, I must say a few words as to the shape in which the materials present themselves to the historian. A great many State papers have been printed in full in the numerous collections which have been published during the last three hundred years or more; but these printed collections are of very different value. In some of them there is scarcely a misprint or a wrong reading in a hundred pages. Others, on the contrary, have been so carelessly edited that they are absolutely worthless. Papers have been issued as authentic, which have since been proved to be forgeries; and some party writers have even tampered with the documents from which they print, entirely changing the sense. I am sorry to say that this practice has not wholly died out even in our century.

In cases in which the original paper can no longer be found, a printed document cannot, therefore, be accepted as genuine or as correctly given, without a very close examination of the text and of other papers attributed to the same author. The result of such an examination often is that a printed document is shown to be either quite spurious, or very incorrectly rendered, or (and this is the most frequent blunder) something altogether different from what it is said to be. I need only point to the letter (printed by Burnet) which Anne Boleyn was formerly supposed to have written from her prison in the Tower, but which is now generally admitted to be a forgery, and to the letter of Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII. to Wolsey, printed by Sir Henry Ellis as a letter of Catherine. These are very glaring examples, which have long been known, but they are by no means singular. There are a good many more printed letters, the testimony of which must be rejected.

Another difficulty is occasioned by the wrong dates given to papers, or by the absence of all dates. In the time of Anne Boleyn the year was reckoned in four different ways—from the 25th of December, from the 1st of January, from the 25th of March, and from Easter-day. The editors of printed collections of

documents, either ignorant of this fact or failing to keep it in mind, have frequently misplaced the papers by a whole year. Even when the year may be readily determined, it is not always easy to indicate the day on which a paper was written, for papers were often dated simply by the day of the month (the month itself not being mentioned), or by the day of the week, or by the name of a saint who has several days in the calendar. This causes much confusion; but in most instances I hope I have succeeded in placing correctly the documents from which I have drawn my information. Of papers about the date of which I have remained in doubt I have preferred to make no use.

Even manuscript sources cannot, of course, be accepted without inquiry. Papers preserved in Archives of State may in general be considered genuine; but in public and private libraries there are a great many volumes of originals and copies which are not so free from suspicion. In the case of documents which profess to be originals, the question of authenticity is comparatively easily solved, and the number of forgeries is, I am happy to say, very small. It is in dealing with papers pretending to be copies that historians have to be most on their guard. Is

the paper really a copy of a genuine original? And, if so, is it a full and exact copy? These questions present themselves nearly every day to the careful inquirer, and often tax his critical power to the utmost. For it would, of course, be very rash to reject the testimony of a paper only because it is a copy, while it would be dangerous to admit it without having tested its authenticity by thorough investigation and comparison. I need not say that in examining copies which relate to my subject I have done my best to hold an even balance between extreme suspicion and misplaced confidence.

Finally, I have to offer some remarks about a very bad habit adopted by many editors of State papers. A great part of the documents of Henry VIII.'s time are written in cipher, with a contemporary decipher on the margin or on a separate sheet. Editors have been too ready to assume that such deciphers are always correct, and to print or abstract them as if they were the original letters. The secretaries who had to decipher the despatches were often very careless, or they read the cipher so quickly that they did not think it necessary to note the whole of it on the margin. The consequence is that those who accept the contemporary decipher as indubitably correct are

frequently misled, and mislead others in their turn. Invariably, therefore, when a passage has seemed to me to be of great importance, or when the decipher has appeared suspicious, I have re-deciphered the original letter, and the result has sometimes been very different from the previously accepted reading. The fact that I frequently quote from the original despatch will explain some of the discrepancies between my quotations and those of Mr. Gairdner and Mr. de Gayangos.

It would scarcely be possible to give a complete list of those who have aided me in my inquiries; but I cannot conclude without expressing my obligations to Mr. James Gairdner, Mr. Trice Martin, and Mr. Selby, at the Record Office; to Mr. A. Pinchart of the Archives du Royaume at Brussels; to Mr. C. F. Wegener, the keeper of the Royal Archives at Copenhagen; to His Excellency Baron von Arneth, and to Archivar Felgel of the Archives of State at Vienna; to the Commendatore Bartolomeo Cecchetti, director of the Royal Archives at Venice; to Don Manuel de Goicoichea, keeper of the Archives of the Academia de Historia at Madrid; and to Don Pascual de Gayangos. To these gentlemen my best thanks are due for the kindness with which they have

facilitated my researches or helped me by advice and information.

My friend Mr. James Sime has done me the favour to read the proof sheets. By his excellent advice many passages have been recast, and the whole has taken a form far superior to the original manuscript. I am greatly indebted to him for his invaluable assistance.

PAUL FRIEDMANN.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE. . . . . xxxvii. to lxxxiv.

INTRODUCTION.

The state of England under Henry VIII. 1
England's weakness at the end of the fifteenth century . . 1, 2
Henry VII. tries to improve its condition 2
He is not wholly successful 2
Population of England small 2
London a third-rate town 2, 3
The English trade insignificant 3, 4
And in great part in the hands of foreigners 4
Henry VIII.'s revenues at first but £120,000 5
His subjects no longer good soldiers 5
The English fleet not strong 6
But England by its position has great advantages . . . 6
Opportunities of Henry VIII. 7
Bad education he had received 7
His good natural qualities not developed 8
Henry's faults very great 8
He is exceedingly vain 9
Reports of foreign ambassadors about his boasts 10
Outward splendour of his court 11
His policy directed towards show rather than real advantage . 12
Henry wants courage and strength of mind 13, 14
He is always led by others 14
His obstinacy no proof of firmness 15
Extreme duplicity of Henry 16
He tries to deceive even himself 17

PAGE
His coarseness towards women 18
Good natural qualities of Catherine of Aragon 18
But she is narrow-minded, violent, and has no tact . . . 19
Her foolish behaviour in regard to her confessor . . 20, 21
She hurts Henry's vanity 22
English politicians divided into two parties 22
The lords are rich and have tradition in their favour . . 23, 24
But they are dissatisfied and in opposition 25
This increases their popularity 26
The officials as a party are of recent origin 26
They come from the lower classes. 27
They are extremely corrupt and insolent 28
And in consequence unpopular 21
The peers and the officials are bitter enemies 29
Catherine opposes the officials 30
Henry tries to conquer France 30
Small results of his great preparations 31
He is humiliated by the victory of Flodden 31
Catherine boasts of her success 32
Henry becomes impatient of her yoke 32
Early life of Thomas Wolsey 32, 33
Advantage of being a priest 33
Wolsey's rapid rise 34
And arrogance 35
Catherine's insignificance during Wolsey's reign 35
The king displeased at her not having a son 36

CHAPTER I.

ANNE AND WOLSEY.

Fantastic pedigree of Anne Boleyn 37
Her real descent 38, 39
Anne born in 1502 or 1503 39
The position of her father improves 40
Anne sent to France 41
She returns to England in 1522 42
A marriage with Sir James Butler negotiated . . . 42, 43
Mary Boleyn becomes Henry's mistress 43
Sir Thomas Boleyn is created Viscount Rochford 43

PAGE
Sir Henry Percy wants to marry Anne 44
The king shows preference for Anne 45
Anne is at first rather reticent 45, 46
Rumours of a contemplated divorce 47
Henry and Wolsey, offended by Charles, side with France . . 48
Way of obtaining a divorce 48
Anne begins to aim at the crown 49
Ability with which she plays her game 49
First steps taken towards a divorce 50
A collusive suit begun 50, 51
The bishops secretly consulted 51
Most of them are against a divorce 52
Catherine is warned of Wolsey's secret proceedings . . 52, 53
Henry tells Catherine of his pretended scruples 53
Wolsey commits a blunder by leaving for France . . . 54
Anne begins to show her game 54, 55
Wolsey proposes a new plan for obtaining a divorce . . . 56
Henry decides to act behind Wolsey's back 56, 57
Secretary Knight leaves for Rome with a secret mission . . 57
Wolsey in ignorance of Anne's power 58
He returns to England and is made aware of it 59
He dissembles and regains Henry's confidence 60

CHAPTER II.

THE LEGATINE COURT.

Anne and Wolsey form an alliance 61
Wolsey discovers the secret of Knight's mission 62
Henry implores Knight not to betray him 63
Knight meets the pope at Orvieto 64
His blunders 65
The briefs he sends to England are found to be insufficient . . 66
Stephen Gardiner and Edward Foxe sent to Orvieto . . . 66
Their instructions drawn up by Wolsey 67
And communicated to Anne 68
Apparent success of the new mission 68, 69
Anne loudly proclaims her gratitude 69
Foxe returns to England 70
Is ordered to show Wolsey the papal briefs 71

PAGE
Wolsey is not satisfied with them and wants a decretal . . 71
Anne has the sweating sickness and recovers 73
Wolsey appoints Isabel Jordan abbess of Wilton 74
Henry rebukes the cardinal 75
Wolsey makes a humble apology 76
Anne assures Wolsey of her entire devotion 76
Cardinal Campeggio leaves Rome for England 77
Clement VII. unjustly blamed 78
His position more difficult than that of his predecessors . . 79
The royal power excessive 80
The national spirit unfavourable to the papacy 81
The strife between Charles V. and Francis I. obliges the pope to make a choice between them 82
Leo X. and Adrian VI. side with the emperor 82
Clement goes over to the French 82
And is punished for it by the sack of Rome 83
He decides on a new policy 83
He hopes to raise enemies against Charles 84
And to force the emperor to seek his alliance 85
Clement hampered by his duties to his clergy 86
He loses the allegiance of England, but retains that of the emperor and of the French king 87

CHAPTER III.

THE DEATH OF WOLSEY.

Campeggio is instructed to procrastinate 88
After his departure the French are routed 89
The emperor behaves with great moderation towards the pope 89, 90
Who is favourably inclined towards him 90
Henry is angered by Campeggio's attempt to conciliate . . 90
He wants to obtain possession of the decretal 90, 91
John Casale vainly asks the pope to have it given up . . . 91
The queen produces copy of a brief of dispensation . . . 92
The reported death of the pope delays the proceedings . . 92
The legatine court is held and prorogued 93
Anne becomes hostile to Wolsey 94
Gardiner made chief secretary by her influence . . . .

PAGE
Wolsey's fall postponed 95
Campeggio's luggage searched 96
The decretal destroyed 97
Wolsey is dismissed and submits 98
The Lords form a government 99
They summon a new parliament 100
Way in which the members were elected 101
An election at Canterbury 101, 102
The king and Anne inspect York Place 102
Sir Thomas More reads the king's speech to parliament . . 103
Lord Rochford created Earl of Wiltshire 103
Anne's allies begin to grow lukewarm 104
The emperor and the pope meet at Bologna 105
Lord Wiltshire is sent to persuade them to consent to the divorce 105
He has an audience of Charles V. 106
Who refuses to abandon his aunt 106
Lord Wiltshire is served with a citation for Henry . . . 107
The pope grants a delay 108
Henry angry at Wiltshire's failure 108
Attempts made by Wolsey to regain the king's favour . . . 109
His pensions from France made over to Henry 110
But the French will no longer pay them 112
Anne alarmed at Wolsey's intrigues 113
He is ordered to leave for York 114
He wishes to be helped by Francis 114
Henry tries to obtain opinions of universities in his favour . 114, 115
To this end the assistance of Francis indispensable . . 116, 117
The English government therefore most friendly towards France. 117
The Earl of Wiltshire remains as ambassador in France . . 118
Several French universities decide in favour of Henry . . . 119
Du Bellay comes to England and proposes an immediate marriage 120
The council quarrelling. 121
The Duke of Suffolk tries to ruin Anne 121
Wolsey tries to regain his power 122
Neither Chapuis nor the French ambassador will help him . . 123
Wolsey's attempt to intrigue with Henry himself fails . . 123
Alarm of Anne and Norfolk 124
Wolsey is arrested 125
And dies on his way to London 126

CHAPTER IV.

THOMAS CROMWELL.

PAGE

Coarse joy of Anne and her relatives at Wolsey's death . . 127
Anne takes a new motto 128
Is enraged against Catherine 129
The coalition which ruined Wolsey breaks up 129
Catherine has a serious talk with Henry 130
Growing unpopularity of the divorce 131
Resistance of the clergy 131
Anne wants Henry to marry her at once 132
She has violent quarrels with him 133
Who complains about her temper 134
Anne finds a new ally in Thomas Cromwell 134
Cromwell proposes to frighten the English clergy into submission 135
The English clergy under Henry VIII. 136
Small influence of the parochial priests 136
Friars and monks more influential. 137
The higher clergy 137, 138
They serve the king rather than the church 139
On this account the bishops are hated by the lords . . . 140
Who at first offer no opposition to Cromwell's scheme . . . 141
But in the end they oppose it 141
A compromise is arrived at unfavourable to Anne . . . 142
The Roman court irritated by Cromwell's proceedings . . . 143
The nuncio warns Henry that the cause must be heard . . 144
A deputation of the council waits on Catherine 144
Anne tries to drive her opponents from court 145
And wishes Henry to be separated from Catherine . . 146, 147
The king and queen dine together on Whit Sunday 148
The queen banished from court 149
Anne fills most vacant posts with her adherents 150
But they grow lukewarm as soon as they are installed . . . 151
The king is afraid of the emperor 152
He concludes a defensive alliance with Francis . . . 153, 154
Attempt made to induce Warham to pronounce a divorce . . 155
The peers are sounded whether they will grant a divorce . . 156

PAGE
Henry thinks of marrying Anne without further ceremony . . 157
Further proceedings to deprive the clergy of independence . 158
Warham protests against these proceedings 159
Intrigue of Lady Northumberland 159, 160
Lord Northumberland denies any pre-contract with Anne . . 160
Death of Archbishop Warham 161

CHAPTER V.

THE MARRIAGE.

Anne created Marchioness of Pembroke 162
Probable reason of this strange step 163
An interview between Henry and Francis arranged . . . 164
Anne invited to accompany Henry 165
Marguerite of Navarre will not meet her 167
The English nobles disapprove of the approaching interview . 168
The king and Anne cross the Channel 169
Henry goes to Boulogne 170
Francis comes to Calais 171
Anne and Francis friendly to one another 172
Measures for Henry's benefit agreed upon 172, 173
Henry encouraged by the courteous speeches of Francis . . 174
Anne obtains the See of Canterbury for Cranmer 174
Cranmer's former career 174, 175
His talents and ability 176
His secret marriage 177
Henry's hold over him 177, 178
The English ambassadors ask for the bulls for Cranmer . . 178
Chapuis protests in vain that Cranmer is a dangerous person . 179
The papal nuncio is gained over by Henry 179
Who shows himself ready for a compromise 180
Clement VII. believes his ambassador 181
And grants the bulls 182
Henry and Anne are secretly married 183
Probably by George Brown, prior of Austin Friars . . 183, 184
The nuncio present at the opening of parliament. . . . 184
This misleads the opposition 185
Position of Sir Thomas More. 185
He is obliged to resign 186
Cromwell allowed to fill the vacant offices 186

PAGE
Sir Thomas Audley made Lord Chancellor 187
Lord Wiltshire speaks to Lord Rutland about the divorce . 187, 188
Propositions submitted to the bishops 188
Anne speaks of her pregnancy 189
The nuncio begins to suspect that he has been duped . . . 190
But Clement relies on the proposed meeting with Francis . . 191
And does not proceed against Henry 192
Lord Rochford sent to tell Francis of the marriage . . . 192
Henry's requests not granted 193
Jean du Bellay blames Rochford 193, 194
The public mind to be prepared for the marriage 194
The papal authority attacked 195
After a struggle the House of Commons yields 195
Convocation is called upon to give an opinion 196
And decides in favour of the divorce 197
Bishop Fisher protests and is arrested 197
Chapuis expostulates with Henry 198
A royal commission tells Catherine that Henry has married Anne 198
Anne appears as queen 199

CHAPTER VI.

THE CORONATION.

The prior of Austin Friars prays for Anne 200
She is to be prayed for as queen in all parishes 201
Cranmer asks Henry's permission to open a court . . . 201
Henry grants it after humiliating Cranmer 202
Catherine is cited to appear and protest before a notary . . 203
The nuncio is afraid to act 203, 204
Cranmer gives judgment against Catherine 204
Anne comes to the Tower 204, 205
Preparations made in the city for her passage 205
Anne leaves the Tower for Westminster 205, 206
Insult offered to her by the Easterlings 207
Unpleasant augury at Leadenhall 208
Anne is crowned 208
Catherine and Mary are cheered wherever they pass . . . 209
Further annoyance by the Easterlings 209
Anne becomes uneasy at the coldness of Francis I. . . . 210
Dinteville objects to Cranmer holding a court 211

PAGE
Cromwell sides with Anne 212
The partisans of France begin to oppose her 212
Henry begins to grow indifferent to Anne 213
But shows her some attention on account of the expected Prince of Wales 214
Clement VII. violently angry at the statute of appeals . . 214
The French cardinals, trying to calm the pope, displease Henry . 215
The cause goes on at Rome 215
Henry appeals to a general council 216
Norfolk sent to France as ambassador 217
He is to dissuade Francis from meeting the pope . . . 217, 218
He sees Marguerite of Navarre 218
And meets Francis at Riom 219
Norfolk goes to Lyons 219
Where he receives the news that Clement has given sentence . 220
Plan proposed by Cardinal Tournon 220, 221
The news of Cranmer's sentence irritates the pope . . . 221
Clement proposes to Cyfuentes several measures against Henry . 222
The proceedings of Cranmer are annulled 223
Norfolk wants to return to England 224
But is prevailed upon merely to send Rochford 225
Henry decides to take a line of his own 225, 226
Norfolk proceeds to Montpellier to meet Francis 226
Norfolk returns to England 227
Gardiner is sent to France 227
Bonner is directed to intimate Henry's appeal to the pope . . 228

CHAPTER VII.

MARCUS MEYER.

Henry expects a son 229
Suffolk married to Catherine Willoughby 229
Elizabeth is born 230
Vexation of Henry 230
Annoyed by the joy of his subjects 230
Cromwell wants Mary to be declared legitimate 231
Chapuis tries to gain him over 231, 232
Norfolk and Elizabeth Holland 233
Lord Abergavenny declares himself an imperialist . . . 233
Bishop Fisher sends a message to Chapuis 234

PAGE
Reginald Pole recommended to the ambassador 234
Francis in a dilemma 235
Anne is a strong Protestant 235
Elizabeth is christened 236
Anne is favoured by chance 236
Luebeck's position in the middle ages 237
It loses its supremacy 237
Its wars with Christian II. of Denmark 238
Christian II. made a prisoner 239
Luebeck sends out a fleet against Holland 239
Its captain, Marcus Meyer, is arrested at Rye 240
He is brought to London and examined 241
Former career of Meyer 241
Meyer offers to Henry the alliance of Luebeck . . . 241, 242
Henry is fascinated by Meyer's proposals 242
Henry regains courage 243
Brother Laurence gives information against his brethren . . 243
The nun of Kent is examined by Cranmer 244
She and her advisers are arrested 245
Lists of her accomplices are made 245
The nun stands at St. Paul's Cross 246
Attempt to frighten the opposition 246
Clement meets Francis at Marseilles 247
The negotiations begin 247
Gardiner is impatient and writes to Henry 247, 248
A disputation is held about the divorce cause 248
Difficulties of the case 248, 249
Clement is ready to have the case heard at Avignon . . 249
Gardiner declares that he has no powers 249
He consents to ask Henry to accept the compromise . . . 250
Henry is angry at the moderation of Francis 250
And decides to refuse Gardiner's request 251
New instructions sent to the ambassadors at Marseilles . 251, 252
The English ambassadors decide to intimate Henry's appeal . 252
They tell Francis of their intention 253
Bonner reads the appeal to the pope 253
Clement complains to Francis 254
Who does not want to make an enemy of Henry 255
But names Calais as the price for his help 256
Francis upbraids the English ambassadors 256
Clement rejects Henry's appeal and leaves Marseilles . . . 257
Cyfuentes does not listen to the French proposals . . . 257

PAGE
Dinteville has a parting audience with Henry 258
Anger of Dinteville 259
Henry is greatly displeased with the French 260
Jean du Bellay comes to England 261
And prevails on Henry to postpone measures against the pope 261, 262

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PAPAL SENTENCE.

Henry prepares for the struggle with Rome 264
A declaration of the validity of his marriage with Anne submitted to the clergy for signature 264, 265
Mary is taken to Hatfield 266
Is encouraged by Dr. Fox to resist 267
Is placed under Lady Shelton's guard 268
Henry tries to break her spirit 268
He is moved by Mary's appeal 269
Anne upbraids him for his weakness 270
Henry threatens Lord Exeter 271
Lady Shelton ordered to treat Mary more harshly . . . 272
The confession of the nun of Kent is to be used 273
A bill of attainder is prepared 273
It is intended to frighten the opposition 274
Du Bellay confers with Francis and Montmorency . . . 274
A plan arranged to gain the pope 275
Du Bellay before the cardinals 276
He has a sharp encounter with Dr. Ortiz 276, 277
He takes a false estimate of Clement's ability 277
He is on bad terms with the papal court 278
And is overreached by the pope 279
Who is eager to proceed against Henry 279
The reports on the cause are prepared 280
Du Bellay writes in a hopeful strain to France and England 280, 281
The government meets with difficulties in parliament . . . 282
Latimer preaches in favour of papal authority 283
Anne sends Mary a message 284
Mary remains steadfast 284
Henry begins to become indifferent to Anne 284, 285

PAGE
He receives Castillon's proposals very well 285
Cromwell is unfavourable to them 286
Castillon cannot convince the council 286, 287
But Henry promises to wait till after Easter 288
Du Bellay has been busy at Rome 289
He writes to Castillon 289
Assures him that the pope is quite favourable to Henry . 290, 291
And that Henry is sure to gain his cause 291
Montmorency greatly pleased with du Bellay . . . 292, 293
Castillon submits to Henry a garbled version of du Bellay's letter 294
Henry is in a less conciliatory temper 294, 295
Castillon receives new instructions 295
Henry refuses the marriage of Mary with Alexander dei Medici . 296
The peers ask to be allowed to hear Sir Thomas More . . . 297
His name struck out of the bill of attainder 297
The opposition of parliament is overcome 298
Du Bellay finds the pope well informed 298
The divorce case discussed in consistory 299
Du Bellay feels confident of success 300
Henry, better informed, knows that his case is hopeless . . 301
The French cardinals stay away 302
The consistory is held on the 23rd of March 303
Cardinal Trivulzio tries to delay the sentence 303
Catherine's marriage declared valid 303, 304
Du Bellay receives a letter from Castillon 304
He tells Cyfuentes that Henry is ready to submit 305
This statement untrue 306, 307
Henry proceeds against Rome 307
Carne and Revett sent as excusators 307
Parliament prorogued before Easter 308
Henry writes to Wallop that he never intended to submit . . 308

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

1485, December 15.	Catherine of Aragon is born.
1491, June 28 . .	Henry, son of Henry VII., is born.
1501, October 2 . .	Catherine of Aragon arrives at Southampton.
November 14.	Wedding of Arthur, Prince of Wales, and Catherine of Aragon at St. Paul's.
1502, April 2 . . .	Prince Arthur dies.
June 23 . .	A treaty concluded for the marriage of Henry, Prince of Wales, and Catherine of Aragon.
December 26.	Professed date for the bull of dispensation for the marriage of Henry and Catherine.
1502 or 1503	Anne Boleyn is born.
1505, June 28. . .	Henry, Prince of Wales, protests against the treaty of marriage with Catherine.
1509, April 21 . .	Henry VII. dies.
June 3 . . .	Wedding of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Aragon.
1511	Sir Thomas Boleyn and Sir Henry Wyatt made governors of Norwich Castle.
1512	Sir Thomas Boleyn sent as ambassador to the Low Countries.
1514, October — .	Anne Boleyn accompanies Mary Tudor to France.

1516, February 18 .	Princess Mary born.
1518, October 1 . .	A treaty concluded for the marriage of Francis, dauphin of Viennois, and the Princess Mary.
1521, February — .	Mary Boleyn married to William Carey.
1522, January . .	Anne Boleyn returns to England.
April 24 . .	Sir Thomas Boleyn is made treasurer of the household.
April 29 . .	Sir Thomas Boleyn is made steward of Tunbridge, receiver of Bransted, and keeper of Penshurst.
May 29 . . .	An English herald brings to Francis I. a declaration of war.
June 19 . .	A treaty of alliance is signed at Windsor by Charles V. and Henry VIII. Charles is to marry the Princess Mary.
August 30 . .	An English army under the Earl of Surrey invades France.
October 14. .	The English army returns to Calais.
1523, September 6 .	A treaty is concluded between Henry VIII. and the Constable of Bourbon.
September 19.	An English army under the Duke of Suffolk enters France.
November 19.	Cardinal dei Medici is elected Pope; he calls himself Clement VII.
December 14.	The Duke of Suffolk returns to Calais.
1524, April — . .	Jean Brinon is sent by Louise of Savoy on a secret mission to England.
July — . . .	An Imperial army under the Constable of Bourbon enters Provence.
September 28.	Bourbon abandons the siege of Marseilles.
1525, February 11 .	A courier sent by Praet stopped in England, his despatches opened by Wolsey.

1525, February 24 . Battle of Pavia; Francis I. is made prisoner.

June 18 . . Sir Thomas Boleyn is created Viscount Rochford.

August 30 . . Treaty of peace with France concluded at the More.

October 16 . Girolamo Morone arrested by Antonio de Leyva.

November 2 . An imperial army under the Marquis of Pescara enters Milan.

November 13. Francesco Sforza besieged by Pescara in the Castle of Milan.

1526, January 14 . Treaty of peace between Charles V. and Francis I. concluded at Madrid.

February — . A defensive league concluded by the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse at Gotha.

March 10 . . Charles V. is married to Isabella of Portugal.

March 18 . . Francis I. regains his liberty; his children go as hostages to Spain.

May 26 . . . Francis I., at Cognac, forms with the pope and several Italian princes a league against the emperor.

June 12 . . The German Protestant princes meet at Magdeburg, and join the league between the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave.

June — . . The imperial diet opens at Speyer.

July 24 . . . The Castle of Milan is surrendered to the imperial commanders.

August 8 . . A treaty of alliance against Charles V. is signed at Hampton Court by French and English ministers.

August 15 . . Clement VII. names Henry VIII. protector of the Italian League.

1526, August 29. . Battle of Mohacz between Turks and Hungarians. King Lewis of Hungary is killed.

September 20. Ugo de Moncada and the Colonna enter Rome and sack the Vatican.

September 21. Clement VII. concludes a truce with Ugo de Moncada.

October 23 . Ferdinand of Austria is elected King of Bohemia.

November —. Ferdinand of Austria is elected King of Hungary at Pressburg.

November 11. John Zapolyi, Count of Zips, is elected and crowned King of Hungary at Stuhlweissenburg.

December 4 . Ferdinand of Austria elected Duke of Silesia.

December 26. Don Iñigo de Mendoza arrives in England as resident imperial ambassador.

1527, February 6 . Sir John Russell arrives at Rome with subsidies for the pope.

February 26 . Gabriel de Gramont, Turenne, le Viste, and Dodieu, arrive in England as ambassadors of Francis to negotiate the marriage of Princess Mary.

March 5 . . The French ambassadors are received by Henry.

March 29 . . A further truce agreed upon between the pope and the Viceroy of Naples.

April 30 . . A treaty between Francis I. and Henry VIII. is signed at Westminster; Mary is to marry either Francis I. or his second son.

May 5 . . . Henry VIII. ratifies the treaty of Westminster.

May 6 . . . Rome is taken and sacked by the imperial army. Bourbon is killed.

1527, May 8 . . . The French ambassadors leave London.
May 17 . . . A collusive suit for the divorce of Catherine begins at Westminster, before Wolsey and Warham.
May 18 . . . The imperial ambassador is secretly informed of the proceedings of Wolsey and Warham.
May 20 . . . Second sitting of the court at Westminster.
May 21 . . . Philip of Spain born at Valladolid.
May 29 . . . A supplementary treaty between France and England signed at Westminster.
May 31 . . . Third sitting of the court at Westminster; it is decided to consult some English bishops.
June 5 . . . The Castle of St. Angelo is surrendered to the imperial army. The pope becomes a prisoner.
June 22. . . Henry speaks with Catherine about his proposal to divorce her.
July 3 . . . Wolsey leaves Westminster for France.
July 4 . . . Wolsey speaks with Bishop Fisher about the divorce.
July 11 . . . Wolsey crosses to Calais.
July 29 . . . Wolsey proposes a new way of obtaining a divorce.
July 31 . . . Ferdinand of Austria enters Hungary.
August 4 . . Wolsey meets Francis at Amiens.
August 18 . . A treaty of alliance is signed by Francis and Wolsey at Amiens. The French take Genoa.
August 20 . . Ferdinand of Austria enters Ofen.
September —. Secretary Knight is sent on a secret mission to Rome.
September 10. Knight meets Wolsey at Compiègne.
September 17. Wolsey leaves Compiègne for England.

1527, September 24.	Wolsey lands at Dover.
September 30.	Wolsey is received by Henry in the hall.
———	Montmorency, Brinon, and Humieres are sent as ambassadors to England.
October 2 . .	A French army under Lautrec takes Pavia.
October 14 .	The French ambassadors land at Dover.
October 18 .	Lautrec passes the Po.
October 20 .	The French ambassadors arrive at London.
November 3 .	Ferdinand of Austria crowned King of Hungary at Stuhlweissenburg.
November 4 .	Knight reports from Foligno.
November 11.	The French ambassadors leave London.
November 14.	Jean du Bellay arrives at London as resident French ambassador.
November 15.	Montmorency, Brinon, and Humieres arrive at Calais.
November 24.	Secretary Knight reaches Rome.
November 26.	The pope concludes a treaty with the imperial captains for his liberation.
December 6 .	The imperial troops leave the Castle of St. Angelo.
December 7 .	The pope leaves Rome for Orvieto.
December 16?	Secretary Knight has an audience of the pope.
December 18?	Knight leaves Orvieto for England.
December 22?	Knight returns to Orvieto.
December 23.	The pope grants a dispensation for Henry VIII. to marry within prohibited degrees.
December —	A commission to try the divorce case granted by the pope.
1528, January 2 .	Knight leaves Orvieto a second time.
January 9 .	Knight stops at Asti.

1528, January 10 . The French army under Lautrec leaves Bologna.
January 22 . French and English heralds read to Charles V. a declaration of war.
February 6 . Lautrec arrives at Fermo.
February 10 . The imperial ambassador is arrested at London.
. Lautrec enters the kingdom of Naples.
February 11 . Gardiner and Foxe are sent to Rome.
March 20 . . Gardiner and Foxe arrive at Orvieto.
March 23 . . The French army takes Melfi.
March 27 . . Gambara arrives at Orvieto.
April 3 . . A disputation held before the pope and Cardinals Monte and Sanctorum Quatuor.
April 8 . . Gardiner threatens the pope; who grants a commission to Campeggio and Wolsey to try the divorce case.
April 21 . . Lautrec invests Naples.
April 24 . . The Abbess of Wilton dies.
April 28 . . A sea fight at Salerno. The imperial fleet is beaten. Ugo de Moncada is killed.
May 1 . . . Foxe arrives in England with the commission to Wolsey and Campeggio.
May 3 . . . Foxe is received by Henry and by Anne at Greenwich.
May 4 . . . A German army under Duke Henry of Brunswick enters Italy.
Wolsey declares himself satisfied with the commission granted by the pope.
May 10 . . . Wolsey writes to Rome to obtain a decretal defining the law.
May 21 . . . Riots in Kent.

1528, June 8 . . . The commission to Wolsey and Campeggio is made out.

June 15 . . . A truce of eight months is concluded at Hampton Court between England, France, and the Low Countries.

June 16 . . . A servant of Anne Boleyn falls ill of the sweating sickness. She is sent to Kent. Henry leaves for Waltham.

June 17 . . . Gardiner leaves Viterbo for Venice.

June — . . . Anne Boleyn falls ill of the sweating sickness.

June — . . . Henry VIII. goes to Hunsdon.

June — . . . Anne Boleyn recovers.

June 22 . . . William Carey dies.

July 14 . . . Henry writes to Wolsey, strongly reprimanding him for having appointed Isabel Jordan the Abbess of Wilton.

June 15 . . . Wolsey humbly submits.

June 19 . . . Andrea Doria goes over with his galleys to the emperor.

June 20 . . . Muxetula protests in Catherine's name against the legatine court being held in England.

June 23 . . . The pope promises never to revoke the powers given to Wolsey and Campeggio.

June 25 . . . Campeggio embarks at Corneto.

August 16 . . Lautrec dies of the plague before Naples.

August 21 . . Sir Francis Bryan sent to France to receive Campeggio.

August 24 . . Reformation established at Zuerich.

August 28 . . The siege of Naples is raised; the French army routed.

August 30 . . Aversa is surrendered to the Imperialists.

1528, September 6 . Clement VII. tells Sanga that he intends to make peace with the emperor. He receives from the imperial agents the tribute for the kingdom of Naples.

September 8 . Campeggio arrives at Orleans.

September 12. Antoniotto Adorno, Duke of Genoa, dies at Milan.

Andrea Doria drives the French out of Genoa.

September 14. Campeggio makes his entry into Paris.

September 18. The French under St. Pol take Pavia.

Campeggio leaves Paris.

September 25. John Zapolyi accredits Jerome Lasky as ambassador to Henry VIII.

September 26. George Boleyn made Squire of the Body to the King.

September 29. Campeggio lands at Dover.

October 6 . Clement VII. returns to Rome.

October 8 . Campeggio arrives at London.

October — . Catherine produces a copy of the brief of dispensation.

October 13 . Catherine promises to do her best to obtain the original brief of dispensation.

October 22 . Campeggio is received by Henry VIII.

October 23 . Henry calls on Campeggio and disputes with him.

October 24 . Campeggio and Wolsey call on Catherine.

October 25 . Campeggio confers with Bishop Fisher.

October 26 . Catherine confesses to Campeggio.

October 27 . The French garrison of the castle of Genoa capitulates.

Campeggio and Wolsey call on Catherine.

October 28 . Savona surrendered by the French to Andrea Doria.

1528, November 1. Wolsey instructs Casale to ask that Campeggio be ordered to give up the decretal.

November 3. The castle of Genoa is surrendered by the French.

November 8. Henry VIII. explains to the Mayor and citizens of London his reasons for desiring a divorce.

November 11. An agent of the Earl of Desmond submits to Charles V. a proposal for a league.

November 15. Isabel Jordan is installed Abbess of Wilton.

November 17. Margaret of Savoy appoints three lawyers to advise Catherine.

November 23. The imperial ambassador secretly visits Catherine.

November 28. Sir Francis Bryan and Peter Vannes are accredited as ambassadors to the pope.

December — Clement VII. refuses to order Campeggio to give up the decretal.

December 14. A truce for five years is concluded with the Scotch.

December 15. Clement VII. sends Francesco Campana to England.

December 17. Lodovico Falier, Venetian ambassador, arrives at London.

December 19. The French vainly try to surprise Genoa.

December 29. Bryan and Vannes meet Campana and Vincenzo da Casale at Chambery.

1529, January 6 . The pope falls ill.
Bryan and Vannes arrive at Bologna.

January 9 . Catherine sends to Spain for the original brief of dispensation.

1529, January 13 . Campana arrives in England.
January 21 . Gardiner leaves England for Rome.
January 30 . Gardiner joins W. Bennet at Lyons.
February 1 . George Boleyn made Steward of Beaulieu.
February 4 . J. du Bellay leaves England for Rome.
February 6 . Instructions sent to Rome to obtain the election of Wolsey or Campeggio to papacy.
February 15 . Gardiner arrives at Rome.
February 21 . The imperial diet assembles at Speyer.
February 24 . Gonçalo Fernandez appointed ambassador to Ireland.
February 28 . The Prince of Orange takes La Matrice.
March 8 . . G. Fernandez leaves Toledo for Ireland.
March 9 . . G. du Bellay is sent by Francis to England.
March 15 . . The imperial commissioners at the diet of Speyer propose articles unfavourable to the Lutherans.
March 17 . . Clement VII. declares formally that he intends to visit Charles V. in Spain.
April — . . Ostia and Civita Vecchia are surrendered to the pope.
April 2 . . Antonio Rincon is sent as ambassador to John Zapolyi.
April 3 . . Ghinucci and Lee have audience of the emperor. At their request the brief of dispensation is shown to them.
April 12 . . The Saxon minister, Minkwitz, protests at Speyer against the articles proposed by the imperial commissioners.
April 19 . . At Speyer King Ferdinand of Hungary declares the articles accepted. The Lutheran princes formally protest against them.

1529, April 21 . . The pope refuses to declare the brief of dispensation a forgery.

April 22 . . The protesting princes and towns decide to form a league for mutual defence.

April 24 . . The diet at Speyer is closed.

April 25 . . A notarial act is signed by the Lutheran princes, henceforward called the Protestants.

April 27 . . Miguel May, imperial ambassador, and Andrea del Burgo, Hungarian ambassador, formally call upon the pope to revoke the power given to Wolsey and Campeggio.

April 28 . . G. Fernandez takes leave of the Earl of Desmond.

May 4 . . . Sultan Solyman II. starts from Constantinople for the invasion of Hungary.

May 13 . . J. du Bellay returns to England.

May — . . Suffolk and Fitzwilliam are sent to Francis I.

May 18 . . Suffolk and Fitzwilliam have a conference with du Bellay.

May 19 . . Don Iñigo de Mendoza is allowed to leave England.

May 20 . . Henry VIII. accredits W. Bennet as ambassador at the papal court.

May 26 . . F. Campana leaves London to return to Italy.

May 30 . . Henry grants licence to Campeggio and Wolsey to hear and proceed in the divorce cause.

May 31 . . Campeggio and Wolsey open the court at Westminster.

June 1 . . Henry and Catherine have citations served upon them to appear before the legates.

1529, June 3 . . Don Iñigo de Mendoza leaves Calais for Flanders.

June — . . Suffolk has a secret conversation with Francis I.

June 8 . . Conference of Protestants at Rotach.
Andrea Doria leaves Genoa with his galleys to fetch the emperor.

June 9 . . Fitzwilliam returns from France.

June 12 . . Francis empowers Louise of Savoy to treat of peace with Margaret of Savoy.

June 15 . . Catherine visits Campeggio.

June 16 . . At Baynard's Castle Catherine appeals from the legates to the pope, and protests against any act passed by them.

June 18 . . The divorce court sits; Catherine appears and enters her protest.

June — . . Fitzwilliam returns to Compiègne.

June 21 . . The pope has a relapse.
The divorce court sits; Catherine's appeal is rejected.
Battle of Landriano. St. Pol is totally routed and taken prisoner.

June 22 . . Gardiner and Bryan arrive in England from Rome.

June 26 . . Catherine is cited once more to appear.

June 28 . . The divorce court sits. Bishop Fisher speaks in favour of Catherine.

June 29 . . A treaty of peace and amity between the pope and the emperor is signed at Barcelona.

June 30 . . Commission to Tunstall, Knight, More, and Hackett to treat of peace with Margaret and with Louise of Savoy.

July 6 . . . Margaret and Louise of Savoy meet at Cambray.

1529, July 13 . .	At the request of the imperial agents the pope decides that the commission of Campeggio and Wolsey is to be revoked.
July 17 . .	The commission is revoked by the pope.
July 22 . .	The revocation is published at Rome.
July 23 . .	Campeggio prorogues the legatine court.
July 25 . .	Sir Francis Bryan arrives at the French court.
July 27 . .	Charles V. embarks at Barcelona.
July 28 . .	Gardiner becomes chief secretary to the king.
July — . .	Campeggio protests that he has no understanding with Catherine.
August — .	Campeggio signs a promise to favour Henry.
August 5 . .	A treaty of peace between Charles V., Francis I., and Henry VIII. is concluded at Cambray.
August 8 . .	Francis agrees to pay Henry the sums due to him from the emperor.
August 9 . .	Writs made out for a new parliament.
August 12 .	Charles V. lands at Genoa.
August 29 .	The pope suspends the divorce cause for three months.
September 1.	It is announced that the cause is to be transferred to Rome.
September 5.	The brief of citation is handed to Campeggio.
September 10.	G. du Bellay leaves England.
September 19.	Campeggio has a farewell audience of Henry VIII. at Grafton. Wolsey sees Henry for the last time.
September 24.	Eustache Chapuis is accredited as imperial ambassador to England.

1529, September 26. Solyman II. appears before Vienna.
September 29. The Protestant divines meet at Marburg.
October 2 . . Sir Nicolas Carew and Dr. Sampson sent as ambassadors to the emperor.
October 4 . . The pope sends Paul da Casale to ask Henry to contribute towards the war against the Turks.
October 5 . . Henry VIII. accredits Ghinucci as ambassador at the papal court. Campeggio leaves London.
October 6 . . Chapuis has his first audience of Wolsey and the council.
October 7 . . Campeggio reaches Canterbury.
October 8 . . G. Boleyn is appointed ambassador in France. The luggage of Campeggio is seized and searched at Dover.
October 9 . . Christopher Hales frames an indictment against Wolsey. Wolsey is allowed to appoint two attorneys.
Great assault of the Turks repelled by the Viennese.
October 14 . A last unsuccessful assault on Vienna by the Turks; during the night Solyman retires.
October 17 . Wolsey is deprived of the seals.
October 22 . Wolsey pleads guilty to præmunire.
October 24 . Clement VII. enters Bologna. Henry and Anne inspect York Place.
October 25 . Sir Thomas More is appointed lord chancellor.
October 26 . Campeggio leaves Dover for Calais.
October 27 . Wolsey appoints two attorneys.
October 30 . Wolsey is condemned in the King's Bench for præmunire.
October 31 . Conferences of Protestant princes and divines held at Schmalkalden.

1529, November 2. Henry comes from Greenwich to York Place.
November 3. Parliament opens.
November 4. Campeggio reaches Paris.
November 5. Clement VII. and Charles V. meet at Bologna.
November 8. Convocation meets.
November 18. Letters of protection are granted to Wolsey.
November 28. Henry VIII. swears to the Treaty of Cambray.
November 30. Instructions sent to Carew, Sampson, and Bennet.
December 8. Lord Rochford is created Earl of Wiltshire and of Ormond. Charles V. swears to the treaty of peace with England.
December 9. A banquet given at court. Anne takes the place of the queen.
December 17. Parliament is prorogued.
December 23. Charles V. concludes a treaty of peace with Sforza and with Venice.
December 24. Catherine speaks to Henry, who denies that Anne Boleyn is his mistress.
December 25. Wolsey falls seriously ill.
1530, January 12 . A ball at court in honour of du Bellay.
January 13 . Chapuis has audience, and is told that Wiltshire and Stokesley are to go to Bologna.
January 14 . J. du Bellay leaves London.
January 21 . Wiltshire is accredited to Charles V.
January 24 . Wiltshire is made keeper of the privy seal.
January 29 . Francis I. sends G. du Bellay and J. J. de Vaulx to England.

1530, February 4. Tunstall gets the custody of the temporalities of Durham.

February 5. G. du Bellay and de Vaulx received by Henry VIII.

February 8. Sir N. Carew leaves Bologna.

February 12. Wolsey's pardon is made out. Henry leaves Hampton Court for London.

February 14. Wolsey restored to the temporalities of York.

February 16. G. Boleyn, Lord Rochford, returns from France.

February 17. Wolsey resigns his preferments, with the exception of York.

February 21. Sir F. Bryan accredited as ambassador to France.

Tunstall's bulls for the see of Durham made out.

February 23. Charles V. is crowned King of Lombardy by the pope.

Feburary 24. Charles V. is crowned emperor by the pope.

Feburary 27. The University of Cambridge agrees to refer the question of the divorce to a committee.

March 7. Clement VII. forbids Henry to contract a new marriage *lite pendente.*

March 9. The Committee of the University of Cambridge gives a decision in favour of the divorce.

March 14. Wiltshire arrives at Bologna.

March 17. Wiltshire's proposals are rejected by Charles V.

March 21. A brief made out ordering that no one shall meddle with the divorce.

March 22. Charles V. leaves Bologna.

March 23. Wiltshire has an audience of the pope.

1530, March 25 . . Charles V. enters Mantua. He agrees that the divorce cause shall be suspended till September.

April 3 . . . Wiltshire arrives at Milan.

April 4 . . . The University of Oxford refers the question about the divorce to a committee.

April 5 . . . The University of Orleans gives an opinion in favour of the divorce.

April — . . Wolsey leaves for York.

April 8 . . . The Committee at Oxford decides in favour of the divorce.

April 23 . . The University of Poitiers gives an opinion against the divorce.

April 24 . . Wiltshire arrives at Lyons.

April 26 . . Parliament prorogued to the 22nd of June.

April 30 . . Francis I. orders the University of Angers to give an opinion about the divorce.

May — . . . Henry rides out, Anne sitting on the pillion of his horse.

May — . . . Catherine and Mary stay together at Windsor.

May 7 . . . The University of Angers decides against the divorce.

May 21 . . . Clement VII. issues a brief forbidding the expression of opinion in the matter of the divorce for bribes or from other unworthy motives.

May 24 . . . The faculty of canon law of Paris gives an opinion in favour of the divorce.

June 6 . . . Sir Nicholas Harvy leaves England for the imperial Court.

1530, June 10 . . The Universities of Bourges and of Bologna give opinions favourable to the divorce.

June 14 . . Catherine's proctors at Rome apply for process. They are refused.

June 15 . . Charles V. enters Augsburg. Wiltshire at Paris.

June 20 . . The Imperial Diet of Augsburg begins.

June 22 . . Parliament prorogued to October.

June 25 . . The Protestants read their confession of faith to the Diet.

June 30 . . The saying of mass is forbidden at Luebeck.

July 1 . . . The sons of Francis I. return to France. The University of Padua decides in favour of the divorce.

July 2 . . . A part of the faculty of theology of Paris decides in favour of the divorce.

July 7 . . . Henry visits his daughter.

July 8 . . . N. Harvy arrives at Augsburg.

July 13 . . . A letter to the pope is submitted to the principal lords of England.

July 14 . . . The temporalities of London restored to Stokesley.

July 19 . . . Wiltshire arrives at Ortonnay.

August 4 . . The University of Alcala decides against the divorce.

Papal Encyclical forbidding all persons to write against their conscience in matters touching the divorce.

August 8 . . Francis empowers J. du Bellay and de Vaulx to conclude a new league with Henry.

August 12 . Florence surrenders to the imperial army. Alessandro dei Medici becomes duke.

1530, August 13 .	Charles V. empowers Chapuis to act on behalf of Catherine.
August 16 .	Conference about the confession of faith begins at Augsburg.
August 17 .	J. du Bellay arrives at London.
September 8 .	The nuncio, Baron de Burgo, arrives at London.
September 12	Proclamation against obtaining bulls from Rome.
September —	Clement VII. speaks about a dispensation for bigamy.
September 19	The University of Salamanca decides against the divorce.
September 21	The University of Alcala decides against the divorce.
September 24	The University of Ferrara decides in favour of the divorce.
October 1 . .	The University of Toulouse decides in favour of the divorce.
October 5 . .	Sir Francis Bryan is accredited as ambassador with Francis I. John Wellisbourne is recalled.
October 11 .	A supersedeas is granted to Wolsey respecting his colleges.
October 13 .	The constitution of Luebeck is altered in a democratic sense.
October 26 .	Pomeranus arrives at Luebeck.
November 1 .	Walter Walsh is sent to York with an order to arrest Wolsey.
November 4 .	Wolsey is arrested at Cawood.
November 6 .	Wolsey is taken to Pomfret.
November 8 .	Wolsey arrives at Sheffield Park.
November 19.	The Imperial Diet at Augsburg closes.
November 23.	Wolsey leaves Sheffield Park under the guard of Kingston.

1530, November 25. A consistory is held about the concessions made to the Protestants.
November 26. Wolsey arrives at Leicester Abbey.
November 29. Death of Wolsey.
November 30. Margaret of Savoy dies.
December 6 . Henry writes to Clement VII. complaining of injuries done to him.
December 19. The auditor Capisuccio cites Henry to appear at the Rota.
December 22. The Protestant princes meet at Schmalkalden.
December 24. The Protestant princes protest against the intended election of Ferdinand as King of the Romans.
December 25. M. de la Guiche arrives as ambassador in England.
December 31. The Protestant princes at Schmalkalden separate.
December —. Mary of Hungary is named Governor of the Low Countries.
1531, January 5 . . Brief directing Capisuccio to go on with the cause.
Brief forbidding Henry to marry *lite pendente*, and forbidding all persons or corporations in England to meddle with the cause.
Ferdinand of Austria elected King of the Romans.
January 7 . . Clement answers Henry's letter.
The queen's proctor banished from court.
January 10 . Ferdinand is crowned at Aachen.
January 12 . Convocation of York meets.
January 13 . The nuncio exhorts Warham to maintain the papal authority.
January 16 . Parliament meets.

1531, January 23 . Dr. Ortiz arrives at Rome to defend the cause of Catherine.
January 30 . The Duchess of Norfolk sends an encouraging message to Catherine.
February 1 . Louis de Praet is sent by Charles as ambassador to France.
February 11 . The Convocation of Canterbury recognises Henry as supreme head.
February 14 . De la Guiche dines with Henry.
February 20 . Attempt to poison Bishop Fisher.
March 4 . . The Convocation of Canterbury grants a subsidy of £100,000.
March 11 . . Dr. Crome submits to Convocation.
March 24 . . Princess Mary goes to stay with Catherine.
March 29 . . Henry grants a general pardon for præmunire.
March 30 . . The opinions of the universities in favour of the divorce are read to parliament.
March 31 . . Parliament prorogued.
April 3 . . . The Duke of Albany urges the pope not to proceed with the divorce cause.
April 8 . . . Burgomaster Broemse leaves Luebeck.
April 12 . . De la Guiche leaves England. De Vaulx returns.
April — . . Henry complains of Anne's violent temper.
May 3 . . . Luebeck joins the league of Schmalkalden.
May 4 . . . The Convocation of York prorogued.
May 5 . . . Edward Foxe is sent to France.
May — . . . The Duchess of Norfolk is sent from court.

1531, May 6 . . . Tunstall writes to Henry that he cannot accept him as supreme head of the Church.

May 10 . . . The consistory at Rome decides that the cause must go on.

May — . . . The clergy of the province of Canterbury protest against all attacks on the power of the pope.

May 18 . . . The clergy of York do the same.

May 30 . . . The nuncio tells Henry VIII. that the cause must go on at Rome.

May 31 . . . A deputation from the council wait on Catherine and dispute with her.

June — . . . Suffolk and Fitzwilliam conspire against Anne.

June 5 . . . Conference of Protestant princes at Frankfurt.

June — . . . Comptroller Guildford resigns and leaves court.

June — . . . Suffolk denounces Anne as having been the mistress of Wyatt.

June 22 . . . The faculty of law of Orleans declares that Henry is not bound to plead at Rome.

July — . . . The Marquis of Exeter is sent from court.

July 26 . . . Charles V. refuses to allow the divorce case to be decided at Cambray.

July 29 . . . Morette, the French ambassador, leaves Brussels; he is replaced by Dodieu de Vely.

August — . Catherine is ordered to leave court and to go to the More.

August 16 . Bilney burned for heresy at Norwich.

August 18 . Clement exhorts Henry to aid in opposing the Turks.

1531, August 19 . The faculty of law of Paris decides that Henry is not bound to appear at Rome.
August 27 . Dr. Foxe returns from France.
August 30 . Riot of parochial clergy at Greyfriars.
September — Sir Thomas Elyot is accredited as ambassador with Charles V.
September 21 Sir Griffith ap Rice sent to the Tower.
September 22 Dr. Foxe arrives at Compiègne.
Louise of Savoy dies.
October — . Anne Boleyn advises Fisher not to appear in his place in parliament.
October 11 . Battle of Cappel. The Zuerich army is beaten. Zwingli is killed.
October 13 . A royal commission asks Catherine not to oppose the king's wishes.
October 15 . J. du Bellay arrives in England.
October — . Catherine leaves for the More.
October 19 . J. du Bellay and de Vaulx call on Chapuis.
October 20 . The pope preconises Edward Lee, Archbishop of York.
October 22 . Henry and Anne dine with du Bellay at the house of Bryan Tuke.
October 24 . Christian II. of Denmark leaves Medemblink in Holland to reconquer his kingdom.
October 25 . J. du Bellay returns to France.
October 26 . Ambassadors from the Duke of Cleves arrive.
November 1 . Henry VIII. recalls W. Bennet.
November 5 . Ferdinand sends Nogarolo and Lamberg to treat with Solyman.
November 6 . Parliament prorogued to the 15th of January.
November 13. Henry and Catherine dine in separate rooms at Ely House.

1531, November 14.	J. le Sauch arrives at London.
November 19.	W. Bennet leaves Rome.
November 20.	Bayfield is degraded from the priesthood by Stokesley.
November 21.	Henry complains to Chapuis and le Sauch that Tyndall has not been given up to him.
November 26.	Four Luebeck line of battle ships leave Travemunde to fight Christian II.
November 30.	Cleve ambassadors leave England.
December 3 .	Temporalities of York restored to Lee.
December 4 .	Bayfield burned as a heretic in Smithfield.
December 11.	The date at which Henry is to appear at Rome again postponed by consistory.
December 15.	Bainham examined as to heresy by Stokesley.
December 20.	Bryan and Foxe return from France.
December 21.	Tewkesbury is burned as a heretic.
December 24.	G. de la Pommeraye arrives as French ambassador.
December 28.	The pope asks all Christian princes to help in resisting the Turks.
December 29.	Gardiner leaves for France.
December 30.	W. Bennet returns to France.
1532, January 1 . .	Henry VIII. refuses Catherine's new year's gift.
January 3 . .	The nuncio presses Henry to recall Catherine.
January 4 . .	Brief of Clement asking Henry to help in opposing the Turks.
January 8 . .	Cause begins at Rome.
January 10 .	Francis writes to Rome in favour of Henry.
January 11 .	De Vaulx leaves England.

1532, January 12 . Dr. Carne asks the pope to grant a further delay in order that counsel may be procured.

January 15 . Parliament meets.

The cause at Rome is postponed till Candlemas.

January 21 . Dr. Bonner is ordered to go to Rome.

January 24 . Bonner leaves.

January 25 . Henry accredits Dr. Cranmer as ambassador with Charles V.

Clement VII. exhorts Henry to put Anne away and to recall Catherine.

February 6 . Bennet arrives at Rome.

February 7 . Bennet promises 6,000 crowns a year to the Cardinal of Ravenna.

February 9 . Henry refuses to take part in the resistance offered to the Turks.

February 16 . Carne protests against Henry being cited. Refuses to produce a mandate, but produces twenty articles which are all to be discussed.

February 24 . Warham signs a protest against any act passed derogatory to the rights of the Church.

March 6 . . Gardiner returns from France.

Carne produces supplementary articles in consistory.

March 11 . . Latimer examined by Convocation.

March 13 . . Some of the articles of Carne discussed in consistory.

March 19 . . Parliament passes the bill against Annates.

March 20 . . Further disputation in consistory.

April 10 . . Latimer submits.

Disputation in consistory. Previdello pleads for Henry.

1532, April 14 . . Cromwell made master of the jewels.
April 17 . . The imperial diet begins at Regensburg. Previdello pleads again for Henry.
April 26 . . Solyman II. starts from Constantinople to attack Germany.
April 30 . . Bainham burned for heresy.
May 1 . . . Friar Peyto preaches at Greenwich against the divorce.
May 5 . . . Dr. Curwen, preaching against Peyto, is interrupted by Elstow.
May 6 . . . Elstow and Peyto before the council.
May 13 . . . The nuncio presents a brief to Henry exhorting him to treat Catherine more kindly.
May 14 . . . Parliament is prorogued.
May 15 . . . Convocation promises not to make any new canons without the royal permission.
May 16 . . . Sir Thomas More resigns the seals.
May 20 . . . Thomas Audley is made keeper of the great seal.
May — . . . Queen Catherine is taken to Bugden.
May 28 . . . The diet at Regensburg decides to act vigorously in opposition to the Turks.
June 9 . . . Bishop Fisher preaches in favour of Catherine.
June 17 . . La Pommeraye returns to London.
June 23 . . A treaty of alliance against Charles V. is concluded at London between the commissioners of Francis and of Henry.
June 29 . . A secret consistory held on the divorce case.
July 1 . . . Christian II. of Denmark surrenders to Frederic I.

1532, July 5 . . . The Earl of Kildare is appointed deputy lieutenant of Ireland.

A priest is hanged in his sacerdotal habit for clipping coin.

July 8 . . . The pope and cardinals decide that if Henry does not send a proxy before the 1st of November, the cause will go on in his absence.

July — . . . Lady Northumberland says that there is a precontract between the earl and Anne.

July 20 . . . Solyman II. passes the Drau near Esseg.

July 23 . . . The Protestant princes come to an understanding with Charles V.

At Henry's request la Pommeraye asks that Marguerite of Navarre may come to meet Anne Boleyn.

August 15 . The Imperial army begins to assemble at Vienna.

August — . Dr. Abel is sent to the Tower.

August — . The Turks lay siege to Guenz.

August 23 . Archbishop Warham dies.

August 28 . The Turks are repulsed at Guenz.

Cranmer declares at Regensburg that Henry will not contribute to the expenses of the war against the Turks.

August 31 . The nuncio exhorts Henry to send a proxy to Rome to appear for him in the cause.

September 1 . Anne created Marchioness of Pembroke.

September 4 . G. du Bellay arrives in England.

September—. Various persons receive orders that they are to accompany Anne to Calais.

September 11. G. du Bellay returns to France.

September 13. Catherine is at Enfield.

1532, September 23.	Henry meets the Princess Mary. Charles V. arrives at Vienna.
September 27.	Instructions to Dr. Hawkins as ambassador to Charles V. He is accredited to the Protestant princes and the Dukes of Bavaria.
October 1 . .	Cranmer is recalled from the imperia court.
October 2 . .	Sir Nicholas Carew leaves for France.
October 7 . .	Henry and Anne leave Greenwich.
October 11 .	Henry and Anne land at Calais. Cardinal dei Medici, legate with Charles V., is arrested by two imperial captains.
October 12 .	Cardinal dei Medici is released.
October 16 .	Montmorency comes to Calais.
October 19 .	Francis arrives at Boulogne.
October 21 .	Francis and Henry meet at Sandingfield and ride to Boulogne.
October 24 .	Henry VIII. cancels a part of the debt due to him from Francis.
October 25 .	Francis and Henry go to Calais.
October — .	Don Pedro de la Cueva reaches Rome.
October 27 .	Montmorency and Chabot de Brion elected knights of the garter. Francis meets Anne Boleyn.
October 28 .	Francis and Henry engage by treaty to aid in resisting the Turks.
October 29 .	Francis I. leaves Calais.
November 4.	Parliament prorogued.
November 6.	Charles V. orders the imperial tribunal not to proceed against the Lutherans.
November 13.	Instructions given by Francis I. to the Cardinals of Tournon and of Gramont, who are sent to Bologna.

1532, November 13. Henry and Anne leave Calais.
November —. Montpesat is appointed French ambassador instead of de Vaulx.
November 19. Cranmer leaves Mantua for England.
November 20. The Scots make a raid into England; the border war begins.
November 25. Chapuis is received by Henry at Eltham.
December 11. Cardinal Pietro de Accolti dies.
December 13. Charles V. enters Bologna and meets the pope.
December 20. At a Consistory it is decided not to hold a council.
December 25. Dr. Abel is released from the Tower.
December 27. The people of Muenster rout the troops of their bishop.
1533, January 1 . Dr. Thomas Leigh is sent to Denmark.
January 2 . Clement VII. announces his intention of holding a council.
January 3 . Cardinals Tournon and Gramont arrive at Bologna.
January 7 . Dr. Bonner leaves Bologna for England.
January 25 . Anne is secretly married to Henry.
Dr. Bonner arrives at court.
January 26 . Sir Thomas Audley is appointed Lord Chancellor.
January 27 . J. de Dinteville is accredited as French ambassador to England.
February 2 . Norfolk has a long conference with the nuncio.
February 3 . Parliament opens.
February 8 . The nuncio and Montpesat assist at a solemn sitting of Parliament.
February 9 . The nuncio, Montpesat, and Dinteville assist once more at a sitting of Parliament.

1533, February 13 . Montpesat leaves England.
February 14 . Dr. Bonner leaves England to return to Rome.
Wiltshire uses threatening language to Lord Rutland.
February 21 . The bulls for Cranmer are proposed in consistory.
Juergen Wullenwever is elected a member of the Senate of Luebeck.
February 22 . Saxon ambassadors arrive in England.
February 24 . A treaty is concluded between Charles V. and Clement; the pope promises that the divorce cause shall be decided at Rome.
A great banquet at Anne's house.
February 25 . G. du Bellay and Beauvois arrive at London.
February 26 . The French ambassadors have audience.
Henry asks that no new proceedings may be taken against him at Rome.
February 27 . A league is concluded at Bologna for the defence of Italy.
February 28 . Charles V. leaves Bologna.
March 1 . . G. du Bellay and Beauvois leave London for France.
March 8 . . J. Wullenwever becomes burgomaster of Luebeck.
March 13 . . Lord Rochford leaves for France.
March — . . Bills against the papal authority introduced into Parliament.
March 26 . . Cranmer's bulls arrive.
Convocation opens.
March 30 . . Cranmer consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.
April 2 . . The theologians of convocation decide in favour of Henry.

1533, April 3 . . The canonists of Convocation decide in favour of Henry.
April 5 . . Convocation grants copy of the decisions.
April 6 . . Bishop Fisher is arrested.
April 7 . . Rochford returns from France.
Parliament is prorogued.
April 8 . . Convocation is prorogued.
April 9 . . Commissioners call on Catherine and tell her of Anne's marriage.
April 10 . . Frederic I. of Denmark dies.
April 11 . . Cranmer asks for permission to inquire into the validity of Henry's marriage with Catherine.
April 12 . . Anne appears publicly as Queen.
April 14 . . Beauvois leaves London for Scotland.
April 15 . . The Scots take fourteen English ships.
April 17 . . Count Cyfuentes, the new imperial ambassador, arrives at Rome.
April 23 . . Catherine is forbidden to call herself Queen.
April — . . Catherine is cited to appear before Cranmer at Dunstable.
April 30 . . Protestation of Catherine that she will not accept Cranmer as her judge.
May 6 . . . Tunstall refuses to subscribe to the articles against the validity of Catherine's marriage.
May 10 . . . Cranmer opens his court; Catherine is pronounced *contumax*.
May 13 . . . The Convocation of York decides in favour of the divorce.
May 23 . . . Cranmer gives sentence against Catherine.
May 27 . . . An embassy leaves England for France.
May 28 . . . Norfolk has a conference with Chapuis, and leaves for France.

1533, May 28 . . . Cranmer declares the marriage of Henry and Anne to be valid.
May 29 . . . Anne goes from Greenwich to the Tower.
May 31 . . . Anne leaves the Tower for Westminster.
June 1 . . . Anne is crowned.
June 6 . . . Norfolk stops at Amiens.
June 13 . . . Bishop Fisher is set free.
The cardinals decide that the excusator is not to be heard.
June 23 . . . The Duchess of Suffolk dies.
June — . . . Norfolk sees Marguerite of Navarre at Paris.
June 26 . . . Henry appeals from the pope to the next general council.
July 4 . . . Frith and Hewet burnt at Smithfield.
July 10 . . . Norfolk sees Francis at Riom.
July 11 . . . The pope and cardinals annul the proceedings of Cranmer.
July 14 . . . The nuncio leaves England.
July 19 . . . Beauvois arrives at London from Scotland.
July — . . . Catherine is taken to Bugden.
July 21 . . . Norfolk arrives at Lyons, and receives the news of the papal sentence.
July — . . . Chapuis dines on board the Easterling ships.
July 28 . . . Stephen Vaughan and Christopher Mount leave for Germany.
Rochford arrives from Lyons.
July — . . . Anne goes to Hampton Court.
July 30 . . . Rochford returns to Lyons.
The Luebeck fleet leaves Copenhagen for the coasts of Holland.
July — . . . Cranmer examines Elizabeth Barton.
August 8 . . A brief of censure issued against Henry, Anne, and Cranmer.

1533, August — . .	The Luebeck fleet appears in the Channel.
August 18 . .	Marcus Meyer lands at Rye and is arrested.
	Henry authorises Bonner to intimate the appeal to the council.
August — . .	Norfolk meets Francis I. at Montpellier.
August 28 . .	Henry and Anne return to Greenwich.
August 30 . .	Norfolk arrives at court from Montpellier.
September 3.	Gardiner leaves London for France.
September 6.	At Weimar, Stephen Vaughan receives an unfavourable reply from the Elector of Saxony.
September 7.	Elizabeth is born at Greenwich.
	The Duke of Suffolk marries Lady Catherine Willoughby.
September 9.	A treaty of friendship is concluded at Ghent between the Low Countries and Denmark.
September —	Elizabeth Barton and her accomplices arrested.
September 25.	The Duke of Richmond returns from France.
September —	A short truce concluded with Scotland.
September 27.	The pope suspends the censures against Henry, Anne, and Cranmer.
October 1 . .	A truce for one year concluded with Scotland.
October 2 . .	Mary Tudor refuses to give up her title of princess.
October 11. .	Clement VII. lands at Marseilles.
October 16. .	Negotiations between Clement and Francis I. begin at Marseilles.
	Bonner leaves Lyons.
October 17. .	Gardiner reports unfavourably to Henry.

1533, October 20. . A disputation held at the house of Cardinal Duprat.
October 21. . An agreement made between the pope and the King of France.
October 24. . Gardiner sends to England for powers.
November 1 . Gardiner's letter of the 17th arrives in England.
November 2 . Orders sent to Marseilles that the appeal is to be intimated.
November 7 . Bonner intimates Henry's appeal.
November 9 . Castillon arrives as resident ambassador in England.
November 11. Clement VII. rejects Henry's appeal.
November 12. Clement leaves Marseilles.
Richard Pate is appointed resident ambassador with Charles V.
November 18. Dinteville leaves England.
November 19. The sentence of Clement VII. exhibited on the church-doors at Dunkirk.
November 23. Elizabeth Barton stands on a scaffold at St. Paul's.
December 7 . Marcus Meyer is knighted by Henry.
December — Clement VII. shows himself eager to proceed against Henry.
December 13. Elizabeth is taken to Hatfield.
December 14. Marcus Meyer leaves England for Luebeck.
December — The Princess Mary is taken to Hatfield.
December 17. Du Bellay arrives in England.
Commissioners dissolve Catherine's household at Bugden.
December 29. Du Bellay leaves England.
1534, January 9 . . The cardinals decide that the divorce cause must be discussed once more.
January 10 . Henry goes to see Elizabeth at Hatfield.

1534, January 15 . Parliament opens.
Marcus Meyer arrives at Luebeck.
January 27 . The landgrave of Hesse concludes, at Bar le Duc, a treaty with Francis I. for the restoration of Ulrich of Wuertemberg.
January 30 . Convocation opens.
January 31 . The Lords inspect the treaty of alliance with France. Lee, Heath, and Paget are sent ambassadors to Denmark, Saxony, and Poland.
February 2 . J. du Bellay arrives at Rome.
February 6 . Du Bellay is heard in consistory.
February — . A secretary from Luebeck arrives in England.
February 18 . Latimer preaches before Henry in favour of the pope.
February — . Henry writes to Wullenwever.
February 21 . An Act of Attainder against Elizabeth Barton, Bishop Fisher, Sir Thomas More, and others, is introduced into the House of Lords.
February 27 . Simonetta gives an account of the divorce case in consistory.
The Anabaptists drive the Lutherans out of Muenster.
March 2. . . Conferences begin at Hamburg between Dutch, Holstein, and Luebeck delegates.
March 4. . . A list of questions relating to the divorce case is submitted in consistory.
Castillon finds Henry favourable to a compromise with the pope.
March 5. . . The council are unfavourable to a compromise, but Henry is ready to wait.

1534, March 6 . . . The Lords ask to hear Sir Thomas More. His name is struck out of the Bill of Attainder.

March — . . . Castillon submits a forged letter to Henry, who is less conciliatory.

March 12 . . The bill against Barton is passed by the Lords.

March 20 . . The bill ratifying Henry's marriage with Anne is read a first time in the House of Lords.

March 23 . . The bill ratifying Anne's marriage is read a third time.

Clement gives sentence against Henry.

March 25 . . Carne and Revett leave for Rome.

March 30 . . Parliament prorogued.

March 31 . . Convocation prorogued.

The cardinals refuse to reconsider their sentence.

April 4 . . . La Pommeraye brings the news of Clement's sentence.

April 6 . . . Carne and Revett meet du Bellay at Bologna.

April 13. . . Fisher and More refuse to swear to the Act of Succession.

April 14. . . Carne protests against the sentence of Clement.

April — . . Rochford and Fitzwilliam are sent to France.

April 17. . . Fisher and More are committed to the Tower.

April 20. . . Barton and some of those who favoured her are executed.

April 24. . . Francis replies to the requests transmitted by Rochford and Fitzwilliam.

May 5 . . . Convocation of York decides that the pope has no power in England.

1534, May 6 . . . Philip of Hesse enters Wuertemberg.
May — . . . Lord Dacres arrested.
May 11 . . . Peace is concluded with Scotland.
May 12 . . . Count Christopher of Oldenburg arrives before Luebeck.
May 13 . . . Battle of Laufen. The army of Ferdinand is routed.
May 14 . . . Marcus Meyer surprises Trittau.
May 17 . . . Count Christopher concludes an alliance with Luebeck.
May — . . . Royal commissioners threaten Catherine with penalties if she will not swear to the Act of Succession.
May 27 . . . The town of Malmoe rises in favour of Christian II.
May — . . . De la Guiche comes to England.
May 30 . . . The Senate of Luebeck sends an embassy to England.
June 3 . . . Count Christopher concludes a treaty with Luebeck for the conquest of Denmark.
June 7 . . . De la Guiche leaves England.
Princess Mary signs a protest against the compulsion to which she is subjected.
June 11 . . Lord Thomas Fitzgerald renounces his allegiance to Henry.
June 16 . . The Hanseatic ambassadors arrive at London.
June 18 . . Philip of Hesse reaches the Bohemian frontier.
June 19 . . Count Christopher sails from Travemuende.
June 23 . . Rochford is made Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.

1534, June 24 . . The Hanseatic ambassadors received by Henry.
June 29 . . A treaty of peace concluded at Cadan between Philip of Hesse and Ferdinand.
July 4 . . . The Estates of Jutland elect Christian III.
July 8 . . . Lord Rochford is sent to France.
July — . . . Aëpinus arrives in England.
July 14 . . . Wiltshire and Paulet go to summon Mary to swear to the Act of Succession.
July 15 . . . Copenhagen surrenders to Count Christopher.
July 17 . . . Chapuis sets out for Kimbolton.
July 19 . . . Chapuis is requested not to proceed.
July 21 . . . Cornelius O'Brien asks to be assisted by the emperor.
July 24 . . . The Estates of Skonen submit to Count Christopher.
July 25 . . . The Castle of Copenhagen capitulates.
July 27 . . . Lord Thomas Fitzgerald enters Dublin.
July 28 . . . Archbishop Allen is murdered.
August 2 . . Henry lends 20,000 florins to the Luebeckers.
August — . . The observant friars are expelled from their convents.
August 9 . . Ovelacker beats the troops of Duke Christian at Nyborg in Funen.
August 12 . . The Count of Nassau is sent from Palencia to France.
August 30 . . The Anabaptists of Muenster repel an assault by the troops of the German princes.
September 3. Christian of Holstein appears before Luebeck.

1534, September 14. Clement lands at Aalborg in Jutland.
September — Mary Boleyn sent from court.
September 17. Two gentlemen ask Chapuis to advise Charles to send troops to England.
September 24. Chapuis refers to an adherent of Catherine to whom Henry makes love.
September 26. Pope Clement VII. dies.
September 28. Christian of Holstein cuts Luebeck off from the sea.
September 29. Lords Hussey and Darcy communicate with Chapuis.
October — . Lady Rochford sent from court.
October 8 . Cromwell is made Master of the Rolls.
October 12 . Cardinal Farnese becomes Pope as Paul III.
October 14 . Fitzgerald raises the siege of Dublin Castle.
October 17 . Brereton lands at Dublin.
October 18 . Clement, at Svendstrup, routs the adherents of Duke Christian.
October 20 . Chabot sets out for England.
October 22 . Anne sees Elizabeth at Richmond.
October 28 . Christopher Mores leaves as ambassador for Luebeck and Denmark.
October — . The Cardinal of Lorraine promises to go to England.
November 4. Parliament meets.
November 11. Chabot lands at Dover.
November 18. A treaty is concluded at Stokelsdorf between Duke Christian and Luebeck.*
Henry is declared by Parliament supreme Head of the Church.
November 20. Chabot enters London.

1534, December 2 . Chabot leaves London.
December 18. Parliament is prorogued.
December — Anne has a violent quarrel with Norfolk.
1535, January 13 . Meyer is defeated and taken prisoner in Skonen.
January 18 . Francis I. complains to Hanart that Charles tries to irritate the Protestants against him.
January 20 . Christian of Holstein sends Peter Schwaben to England.
Several heretics burnt at Paris.
Wallop proposes a compromise to Hanart.
January 21 . Palamede Gontier sets out for England.
January 31 . Gontier arrives at London.
February 2 . Gontier sees Anne at a ball at court.
February 5 . Mary falls ill again.
February 18 . J. von Rantzau lands with a Holstein force in Funen.
February — . The imperialist favourite of Henry supplanted by Margaret Shelton.
February 28 . Peter Schwaben arrives at the English court.
March 1 . . Peter Schwaben has audience of Henry.
March 3 . . Lord Bray communicates with Chapuis.
March 5 . . Gontier leaves England for France.
March — . . Cromwell becomes dangerously ill.
March 12 . . Marcus Meyer escapes from prison and seizes the castle of Warberg.
March 14 . . Mary has a relapse.
Skeffington lays siege to Maynooth.
March 23 . . Maynooth is taken.

1535, March 26 . . P. Gontier returns to England from France.
March 31 . . Henry answers the proposals brought by Gontier.
April 1 . . Mary leaves Greenwich.
April 7 . . Cromwell is out of danger. Henry sups at his house.
April 9 . . Albert of Mecklenburg leaves Travemuende to join Count Christopher.
April 16 . . Peter Schwaben leaves England.
April 20 . . Robert Lawrence and A. Webster are examined by Cromwell.
April 21 . . Great riot in Warwickshire.
April 26 . . The Charterhouse monks are examined.
April 29 . . The Charterhouse monks are sentenced to death.
May 2 . . . Dr. Pack arrives in England from Luebeck.
May 4 . . . The Charterhouse monks are executed.
May 7 . . . More and Fisher are called upon to accept the Act of Supremacy.
May 21 . . . The pope names Fisher, Du Bellay, Ghinucci and others to be cardinals.
May 22 . . . The conferences at Calais begin.
May 25 . . . Several Anabaptists are burnt at Smithfield.
Lord Rochford arrives in England from Calais.
May 26 . . . Christopher Mores goes to Warberg to confer with Meyer.
May 29 . . . Paul III. asks Denonville to write in favour of Fisher.
May 30 . . . Charles V. leaves Barcelona for the conquest of Tunis.

1535, June 11 . . . Three more Charterhouse monks are sentenced to death.
Rantzau defeats and kills Hoya and Tecklenburg at Oxneberg in Funen.
The Swedish and Luebeck fleets have an engagement off Bornholm.
June 14 . . . The conferences at Calais break up. Chabot leaves Calais.
June 15 . . . A papal messenger arrives at Boulogne for England.
June 16 . . . Skram destroys the Luebeck fleet off Svendborg.
Charles V. lands on the coast of Tunis.
June 17 . . . Bishop Fisher is sentenced to death.
June 19 . . . Three Charterhouse monks are executed.
June 22 . . . Bishop Fisher is executed.
June 23 . . . Charles V. lays siege to the Goletta.
Francis I. invites Melanchthon to a conference.
June 24 . . . The allied princes take Muenster.
June 26 . . . A true bill found against Sir Thomas More.
Antoine de Castelnau, Bishop of Tarbes, arrives as resident French ambassador in England.
July 1 . . . Sir Thomas More is sentenced to death.
July — . . . Sir Thomas More is executed.
July 8 . . . Barnes is accredited as ambassador in Saxony.
July 10 . . . Lord Leonard Grey starts for Ireland.
July 14 . . . The Goletta is taken.
July 20 . . . Bonner, Cavendish, and Pack, accredited as ambassadors in the northern countries.
Charles defeats Khairredin.

1535, July 21 . . . Charles enters Tunis.
July 29 . . . Bonner and Cavendish start for Hamburg.
August 1 . . Mount and Haynes leave England for France.
August 14 . . The partisans of Wullenwever are obliged to retire from the Senate of Luebeck.
August 18 . . Lord Thomas Fitzgerald surrenders.
The Elector of Saxony refuses to let Melanchthon go to France.
August 26 . . Wullenwever resigns his office.
August — . . Twelve English ships are taken by Skram.
September — Anne Boleyn expresses a wish to see Marguerite of Navarre.
September 18 R. Barnes arrives at Jena.
September 19 J. de Dinteville arrives in England from France.
September 28 The Elector of Saxony answers Barnes.
October 1 . . Henry writes to Melanchthon.
October 7 . . The Easterling ships are seized at London.
October 9 . . J. de Dinteville leaves England.
October — . Gardiner is sent to France, Foxe to Germany.
October 21 . Gardiner arrives at Calais.
October 24 . Maximilian Sforza dies.
November 4 . Pier Luigi Farnese meets Charles V.
November 6 . Chapuis is warned that Henry uses threatening language regarding Catherine and Mary.
November 10. A bull of deprivation against Henry is proposed in consistory.
November —. Wullenwever is arrested at Rotenburg.
November 25. Charles V. arrives at Naples.

1535, December 1 . Catherine falls ill.
December — Catherine recovers.
December 3 Du Bellay is instructed by Francis I. not to interfere in favour of Henry.
December —. Sir Francis Bryan arrives at the French court.
December 10. An altered draft of a bull of deprivation against Henry is read in consistory and passed.
December 13. Catherine writes to Charles V., Granvelle, and Chapuis.
December 15. Henry interferes in favour of Wullenwever.
December 23. The elector and the landgrave ask Henry not to molest Duke Christian.
December 25. The elector and the landgrave reply to Henry's proposals.
December 26. Catherine has a relapse.
December —. Sir Francis Bryan returns from France.
December 29. Chapuis receives the news of Catherine's illness.
December 30. Chapuis has an audience of Henry and leaves for Kimbolton.
1536, January 1 . . Chapuis arrives at Kimbolton and sees Catherine. Lady Willoughby is allowed to enter Kimbolton.
January 4 . . Chapuis takes leave of Catherine.
January 5 . . Chapuis leaves Kimbolton.
January 7 . . Catherine dies.
January 8 . . Chapuis arrives at London.
Anne consults with her friends.
January 9 . . Great ball given at court.
Sir Francis Bryan starts for France.
January — . Anne offers Mary a brilliant position.
January 21 . A courier arrives from Germany with the reply of the elector and landgrave.

1536, January 24 . Henry has a fall from his horse.
January 27 . The physician and apothecary of Catherine are prevented from seeing Mary.
January 28 . Sir Francis Bryan returns from France.
January 29 . Catherine is buried at Peterborough. Anne miscarries.
February 6 . Cranmer preaches violently against papal and imperial authority.
February 9 . An imperial agent arrives to facilitate the flight of Mary.
February 10 . Henry threatens the Archbishop of Bremen.
February 14 . Peace is concluded between Luebeck and Christian III.
February 15 . Ambassadors from the Duke of Guelders arrive.
February 24 . Chapuis speaks with Cromwell about the conditions of a reconciliation between the emperor and Henry.
February 25 . The Bishop of Llandaff is sent to the Tower.
February — . Du Bellay is recalled from Rome.
February 29 . Charles V. instructs Chapuis to enter upon negotiations with Henry.
March 1 . . The Archbishop of Bremen rebukes Henry for his violence.
March — . . Sir Edward Seymour is made a gentleman of the privy chamber.
March 3 . . The Guelders ambassadors leave England.
March 7 . . Cromwell urges Catherine's physician to remain in England.
March 13 . . Bonner and Cavendish ask Christian III. not to persecute Wullenwever.

1536, March — . . Montejan and Annebaut occupy the Mont Cenis.
March 28 . . Charles V. instructs Chapuis to negotiate an alliance with Henry.
April 3 . . . Turin surrenders to the French.
April 9 . . . Alexander dei Medici is married to Margaret of Austria.
April 15 . . Chapuis receives the emperor's instructions.
April 16 . . Chapuis sees Cromwell.
April 18 . . Chapuis has audience of Henry.
Cromwell falls ill.
April 19 . . Castlenau goes to Greenwich.
April 22 . . Castlenau is asked by Henry to go to France with new proposals.
April 23 . . Sir Nicholas Carew is elected knight of the garter.
Cromwell recovers.
April 24 . . Commissioners appointed to make inquiry regarding every kind of treason.
April 25 . . Henry writes to Richard Pate rejecting the offers of Charles. Castlenau has audience.
April 27 . . Stokesley is asked whether it would be possible for Henry to divorce Anne.
Castlenau refuses to go to France.
April 28 . . Castlenau sends a courier to France.
April 30 . . Mark Smeton is arrested and examined.
May 1 . . . Tournament at Greenwich; Noreys is arrested. The king goes to York Place.
May 2 . . . Rochford and Anne are sent to the Tower. Cranmer is ordered to go to Lambeth.
May 3 . . . Cranmer is called before the commissioners.

1536, May 4 . . . Weston and Brereton are sent to the Tower.
May 5 . . . Page and Wyatt are sent to the Tower.
May — . . . Henry goes to Hampton Court.
May 10 . . . True Bill found at Westminster.
May 11 . . . True Bill found at Deptford.
May 12 . . . The four commoners are condemned at Westminster. The Duke of Norfolk is appointed High Steward.
May 13 . . . Twenty-six peers are summoned to try Anne and Rochford.
May 15 . . . Anne and Rochford are sentenced to death.
May 16 . . . Cranmer sees Anne at the Tower.
May 17 . . . Rochford and the four commoners are executed.
Cranmer pronounces a divorce.
May 19 . . . Anne is executed. Henry goes to sup with Jane Seymour.
May 20 . . . Henry marries Jane Seymour.

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page 43, line 9 from bottom, *for* "Thunderby" *read* "Thunderley."
,, 65, footnote [1], line 1, *for* "Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor" *read* "Dr. Ortiz to the Empress."
,, 68, margin, *for* "April 16" *read* "April 8."
,, 148, line 8, *for* "Whitsunday" *read* "the 3rd of May."
,, 229, ,, 17, *for* "a thousand" *read* "two thousand six hundred."
,, 274, ,, 13, *for* "constable" *read* "grand master."

VOL. II.

Page 96, line 23, *for* "Edward" *read* "Edmund."
,, 182, ,, 10, *for* "Pays du Vaud" *read* "Pays de Vaud."
,, 215, ,, 4, *for* "30th of January" *read* "9th of January."
,, 320, ,, 8, *for* "son" *read* "nephew."
,, 320, ,, 18, *for* "T. Brodeau" *read* "J. Brodeau."

ANNE BOLEYN.

INTRODUCTION.

State of England.

To understand the history of Anne Boleyn's rise and fall, it is absolutely necessary to have a clear and correct idea of the state of England during her lifetime, and of the character of the people she had to deal with. This knowledge, I am sorry to say, cannot be found in any of the numerous works relating to the period of Henry VIII. The writers of these works do not mark with sufficient distinctness the immense difference between England in 1530 and England at the present time; and many of their judgments on Henry VIII. and on his contemporaries are superficial and fantastic. I may therefore be allowed as far as possible to attempt to remedy these defects.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, England was neither like the kingdom of the early Plantagenets, which included nearly a third of France, and ranked among the foremost powers of Europe, nor like the country which under the able rule of Elizabeth developed its internal resources, and profited by the weakness and strife of its neighbours. The country

INTROD. had been ruined by civil wars: its foreign possessions were nearly all gone: the population had been much thinned, had grown unruly, and had lost its habits of industry: the revenue was small, the treasury empty, the administration bad. When Henry VII. ascended the throne he set himself to improve the condition of his realm, and in many respects he succeeded. He reorganised the administration, and made it as good and strong as possible. He broke the turbulent spirit of barons and knights, and enforced strict obedience to the royal power. He paid his debts and filled the exchequer, so that at his death a very considerable sum was found in the royal coffers. But with all his talent and energy he could not in a few years change a weak and poor country into a strong and prosperous one. Trade and industry could not be called forth at a moment's notice; and without these England, with an indifferent soil and a bad climate, was unable to support a large population, or to amass any great wealth.

Population. Consequently we find that during the first half of the sixteenth century the population of England was about three and a half millions, while that of France was estimated at fourteen millions, and Charles V. could boast of sixteen millions of subjects in Europe alone. Even the states of such a prince as Ferdinand of Austria, or of the Republic of Venice, contained a larger population than England. Of Poland, Muscovy and Turkey, I do not speak, for they did not belong to Western Europe; but each of them was more populous than the realms of Henry.

London. The capital shared the comparative insignificance

of the country; presenting an aspect very different from that of to-day. To the east it was bounded by the Tower and the Minories, to the north by Houndsditch and the London Wall, while to the west it went as far as the Old Bailey. But the population was by no means crowded. The houses were generally but two storeys high, and many of them had gardens or even orchards, so that Thomas Cromwell, for example, was able to grow apples and pears close to Lothbury. Even a part of the ground where the Bank of England now stands was at that time covered with trees. Outside the city walls to the north and east the town was surrounded by orchards and open fields, cattle grazing where now Finsbury Circus and Liverpool Street are crowded with houses. To the west were little suburbs round Smithfield and Holborn, and along the south side of the Strand the houses of the nobility stood in their spacious gardens up to Charing Cross. Southwark consisted of a few hundred houses clustered round the southern end of London Bridge, while Westminster could not boast of a thousand. The most trustworthy estimate of the population makes it amount to ninety thousand in the city, and forty thousand more in the suburbs. Paris at that time had more than four hundred thousand inhabitants, Milan and Ghent two hundred and fifty thousand each. Rome, Bruges, Venice, Genoa and Naples were all of them larger than London, which could rank only with third-rate towns, such as Lyons, Seville, Florence, Lübeck, and Antwerp. INTROD.

England did not make up by wealth and energy *Trade.*

INTROD. or by other qualities for the smallness of its population. To compare it with the Low Countries or with Upper Italy in regard to trade, industry and wealth, would of course be preposterous; it could not be compared even with France, Germany, or Spain. At that time England was almost exclusively an agricultural or grazing country; besides the various trades ministering to the daily wants of the inhabitants there was but little industry. The chief exports were tin, wool, hides, unfinished cloth, and a few other articles of an average annual value of £400,000. The imports were wine, steel, wax, the finer qualities of cloth and linen, and all kinds of manufactured wares.

Small as it was, this trade was, in great part, in the hands of foreigners. The Hanseatic merchants of the Steelyard, the Italian and Dalmatian traders of Lombard Street were the leading importers and exporters, and nearly monopolised the banking trade. A great part of English merchandise was carried under foreign flags. Notwithstanding the disfavour of the laws, large fleets of Hanseatic hulks, Venetian galleons and Spanish carracks went to nearly every port of the south of England; and Flemish and French ships passed constantly between their own countries and this island. The only trade which was exclusively in English hands was the very inconsiderable coasting trade, and the trade with Calais. The English sent every year from twenty to thirty well-sized ships to the Baltic; from a hundred and fifty to two hundred craft (mostly small) went to fish near Iceland or Newfoundland; the rest—scarcely more than a hundred—traded with the Low Countries,

France, and the north of Spain. Few English ships went as far as Cadiz or Seville, while in the Mediterranean the flag was as yet nearly unknown. INTROD.

The royal revenue was in proportion to the poverty of the country. It consisted of the rents of the royal domains, about £50,000; of the customs and other taxes on import and export, about £35,000; of the receipts of the courts of wards and liveries, about £15,000; of the receipts of the courts of law, of fines and forfeitures, of duties on the production of tin, and of other small sums, bringing up the total to about £125,000 a year. The revenue of Charles V. was about £1,100,000, that of Francis I. £800,000. The Signory of Venice was richer than the King of England. The revenues of the Sultan were ten times as great as those of Henry. Even Ferdinand of Austria, the King of Poland or the Grand Duke of Muscovy—if all their revenues had been taken into account—would not have been found poorer. *Revenue.*

Had the English at that time still possessed those military qualities which had decided the day at Crecy and at Agincourt, King Henry VIII. might, notwithstanding the poverty of his realms, have had a very real and lasting political influence in Europe. But his father had been essentially a pacific king, and had discouraged among his subjects a martial spirit which might have led to rebellion. The English therefore had made no progress in the art of war; they had never learnt the exact drill and the iron discipline which had come in with the increased use of firearms. Bows and bills were no match for hackbut and pike, the loose fighting order of the English yeomen *Decay of Military Qualities.*

INTROD. —so well adapted to their temper—could not resist the shock of the serried ranks of Swiss or Landsknechts. The day of the English archer was gone.

The Fleet. On sea the English might have proved more formidable, for they were as good and daring sailors as they are now. Only they lacked ships. The royal fleet consisted of some thirty ships of 150 tons on an average and one huge unwieldy vessel of 1,000 tons. Of the merchantmen a hundred perhaps might have been pressed into service, but most of them were little fit to carry heavy cannon. France, Spain, the Low Countries or the Hanseatic towns were each able to equip fleets two or three times as numerous as any force Henry VIII. could have fitted out.

Advantages possessed by Henry VIII. Thus Henry VIII. could never occupy that position among Christian princes which was held by Francis I., Charles V., or the Pope. But on his accession he found himself with two advantages by which he might have continually augmented his power. The first of these was the geographical position of England, separating France from the northern seas and Spain from the Low Countries. If he had chosen to do so, Henry VIII. could have rendered all intercourse between the French and their friends the Scots most difficult, and could have made it nearly impossible for Spain to trade with the Low Countries or to send soldiers to them. Hence both the French and the Spanish faction desired his alliance, and were always ready to pay a good price even for his neutrality. Henry VII., profiting by this advantage, had exerted considerable influence on the politics of his neighbours, and had obtained all kinds of benefits with very

little outlay. While other kings got heavily into debt, Henry VII. accumulated large sums of money, which his son on his accession found in the exchequer. This was another great advantage: with ready money armies of foreign mercenaries could be levied, and fleets fitted out; and the bare ability to appear at any moment in the field gave an additional importance to the King of England.

Had Henry VIII. been an able and really patriotic king he might with very little trouble to himself and to his subjects have made his country strong and prosperous; after a happy and quiet reign he might have left it one of the foremost powers of Europe. Unhappily for England he was not such a king; the advantages he inherited from his father he wasted; the position he occupied he spoilt as much as it could be spoilt by fickleness and incapacity.

Character of Henry VIII.

Henry VIII. had the ill luck to arrive at the crown at the age of nineteen. His education had been very bad, and quite unfitted for a future king. Henry VII. had been no scholar, and having sometimes felt the want of learning had come to set an unreasonable value on it. He had therefore taken care that his son should be taught many things which he himself knew not; so that the young prince got a smattering of several sciences—law, theology, and medicine—of the Latin and French languages and of the polite literature then in favour. Of that science by which his father had obtained and consolidated his power Henry VIII. learned very little; it was not considered necessary to train him in the methods of administration, finance, politics and war.

INTROD. Nevertheless he was praised as a most remarkable king. The methodical tyranny of Henry VII. had in twenty-four years changed the most turbulent into the most subservient nation in Europe. Everybody in England bowed before the king, and the young man in his teens was surrounded by a host of most obedient servants and of most fulsome flatterers. He had moreover the mischance to marry a woman six years his senior, who was incapable of exercising a wholesome influence on her husband.

His good natural qualities were not, therefore, developed, while his faults and vices were fostered with tender care. He had a certain breadth of mind; and if he seemed to care for details, it was not, I think, because he had a predilection for them, but rather because his ministers left nothing else to his decision. He had natural shrewdness; except when his vanity was in play, it was not easy to dupe him; and in small intrigues he was able to overreach many a cleverer man. In a way he was good-natured; he was fond of children, he was liberal towards those of his courtiers whom he liked and as long as he liked them; for a little flattery he would often be very kind to a suitor. He spoke well, wrote—except upon business—very tolerably, and knew how to blend dignity with affability. But most of his good qualities were stifled in the bud.

The faults and vices of Henry were so great that, if the unhappy position in which he grew up were not taken into account, he would seem a contemptible monster. He was immensely vain, foolish, weak and thoroughly dishonest. In this age of rehabilitations

an attempt has been made to represent Henry as upon the whole a good man and an able sovereign. Every favourable saying of his contemporaries has been adduced as if it were incontrovertible evidence, every damning statement has been dismissed as the outcome of spleen, malice or folly. Those who argue in this way overlook the fact that in the sixteenth century every prince found numerous panegyrists. Alexander VI. and Cæsar Borgia, Charles IX. and Henry III. of France had their virtues extolled. Lucrezia Borgia and Marguerite de Valois were spoken of as most chaste and moral ladies. Francis I. and Kaiser Max live to this day in popular fancy as patterns of excellent, highminded and chivalrous sovereigns. Praise bestowed on a king means very little.

The state papers of Henry's reign show that he was exceedingly vain. He inquired eagerly whether Francis I. was as tall and broad as himself; and he exhibited the royal legs to the Venetian ambassador Pasqualigo, complacently praising the size of his calves.[1] From Chapuis we learn that Henry thought the highest compliment he could pay the French was to say they were as handsome and tall as the English.[2] We may still see the numerous portraits of himself which he caused to be painted, and compare them with

[1] P. Pasqualigo to ——, May 3, 1515, *Giustiniani's Despatches*, vol. i. p. 90.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., March 15, 1533, Vienna Archives P.C. 228, i. fol. 27: "Que depuis peu de temps en ca les francois avoient desrobe la beaulte et corpulence des anglois et que sembloit proprement quils fussent anglois non point francois."

INTROD. the very few pictures or other works of art he bought or ordered.

In the correspondence of nearly every ambassador at his court we read of some foolish boast about his riches, his power, and his wisdom. "He never forgets his own greatness," Castillon writes, "and is silent as to that of others."[1] "The emperor is stupid," Henry declared to Peter Schwaben, "he knows no Latin, the princes ought to have asked me and the King of France to arbitrate, we would have settled the matter very quickly."[2] "Your master," said Francis to the English ambassadors, "thinks himself very wise, but is nothing more than a fool."[3] Reading the despatches we find that Henry put himself on a par with such princes as Charles V. or Francis I., princes whose realms were four times as populous as England, whose revenues were even greater in proportion, and who commanded the services of captains and armies such as Henry could never dream of bringing into the field. And as if the king had feared that these boasts might not be transmitted to the proper quarter, as if he had been anxious to show

[1] Castillon to Francis I., August 12, 1538, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Francais, vol. 2,954, fol. 145: "Car il noblie jamais sa grandeur et se tait de celle des aultres."

[2] *Diary of Petrus Svavenius*, edited by C. F. Wegener. *Aarsberetninger fra det kongelige Geheime Archiv*, vol. iii. p. 171: "Cæsar simplex est et latine nescit, sicut et Gallus . . . Quod si in me et Gallum rejiceretur arbitrium nos convocaremus eruditissimos quosque. . . ."

[3] Count Cyfuentes to Charles V., November, 1533, Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 62: "Que stava maravillado dello que el dicho Rei de Anglaterra se tenia por sabio y que en verdad era un loco. . . ."

that they were not the result of a momentary feeling, as if he had wished to hand them down to posterity, we find them embodied in his letters and instructions to his ambassadors. To the imperial court he wrote that it was wholly due to his influence that Charles had been elected emperor, and that it was he, not Charles, who had gained the battle of Pavia.[1] The French court, on the other hand, was informed in 1536 that no King of England had ever held France so much in his power as Henry VIII. did at that time.[2]

Henry's acts corresponded with his words. They aimed much more at show and momentary renown than at any real and lasting advantage. They were intended to make the king appear for the hour a noble, wise, rich and powerful monarch, not to make his people happy, or to strengthen his realms. The court of Henry was of the most magnificent description; the treasure accumulated by his father was squandered in jousts, balls, and mummeries. Foreign ambassadors, literary men, even simple visitors, received large presents or were regaled in right royal fashion, that they might praise the splendour of the court and the liberality of the king Occasions of ostentatious display were eagerly sought;

[1] Henry VIII. to R. Pate, April 25, 1536, *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 684: "Whenne We made Him, first King of Spayne, thenne Emperour whenne the empire was at our disposition," and Chapuis to Charles V., December 30, 1535, Vienna Archives, P.C. 229½, i. fol. 151.

[2] Henry VIII. to Gardiner and Wallop, January 4, 1536, British Museum Add. MSS. 25,144, fol. 119: "We be of no lesse but much greater auctoritie to direct France than We or owre progenitors have been at any time."

INTROD. really useful undertakings, buildings, public works, the founding of schools or charities, on the contrary, were generally avoided. Other men during Henry's reign built and founded a good deal, the king has scarcely left any monument to perpetuate his name. What Henry wanted was immediate praise and glory, and this he was well aware he could more easily obtain by mere show than by lasting deeds.

And as at home so abroad. Henry's policy during peace and during war was always one of show. He paid dearly for mere names. Defender of the faith, protector of the Italian league, nay, even Most Christian King or King of the Romans were empty titles with which he allowed himself to be beguiled. His campaigns were either fruitless or worse than fruitless; the successes he obtained were merely outward, and any fortress he conquered he was finally compelled either to raze or to restore for a tenth or twentieth part of the money it had cost him. When he allied himself with Ferdinand, Maximilian, or Charles, there was always a kind of tacit understanding that Henry was to have the glory, and his ally the profit of the war. Had this result been obtained but a few times, one might have thought that Henry had been baffled by the craftier statesmen of Spain or Germany. But as it was repeated over and over again, he must have been satisfied with the share allotted to him. Marilhac, the French ambassador, stated that such was the case. "He cares more," he said, "for a fair show than for the greatest good you can do him."[1]

[1] Marilhac to Montmorency, October 25, 1539, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. 2,955, fol. 93: "Il est de telle qualité, Monseigneur,

His courage in the field was not tested, for Henry was never present at a battle. As to his courage in facing the danger of disease, Jean du Bellay records that, when in 1528 a servant of Anne Boleyn fell ill of the sweat, the lady, notwithstanding the king's passion for her, was forthwith sent from court, while Henry fled from place to place to escape the danger of infection.[1] In 1540 he was again in mortal terror, so much so that Marilhac called him "the most timid person in such matters you could meet with."[2] At a time when it was the custom to speak of kings in the most guarded terms and with the greatest respect, Eustache Chapuis, Charles's ambassador, excused Henry, saying that he was not so very wicked but entirely led by others, but that even these could not wholly trust him on account of his levity.[3] Castillon, the French ambassador, did not scruple to call him plainly a fool.[4] Badoer, Carroz,

quil ayme mieulx un bon visaige que plus grands biens quon luy pourroit faire."

[1] Jean du Bellay to Montmorency, June 18, 1528, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. vol. 3,077, fol. 71: "Une des filles de chambre Monsgr. de Mdlle. de boulan se trouva mardi actainte de la suee, a grand haste le Roy deslogea et alla a douze miles dicy, et ma lon dict que la demoyselle fut envoyee pour le suspect au viconte son pere qui est en caint."

[2] M. de Marilhac to Montmorency, July 6, 1540, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. vol. 2,955, p. 185: "Comme la plus timide personne en tel cas quon sache."

[3] Chapuis to Charles V., January 17, 1534, Vienna Archives, P.C. 229, i. No. 6: "Touttefois considerant la dame la facilite du Roy ou ligierete (qui loseroit dire) . . ."

[4] Castillon to Francis I., June 19, 1538, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. vol. 2,955, p. 107: "Il a je ne scais quelle folle fiance de moy et mesmerveille quil pense que je vous en celle rien.

INTROD. Giustinian, du Bellay, Mendoza, Dinteville, Chapuis, Marilhac all asserted that he was invariably under the influence of some other person, some *alter rex.* And this was not said in spleen or in anger, but generally by those diplomatists who were in favour with the king, and had the best opportunity of judging of his character and position.

Events fully justified the statements of the ambassadors. Scarcely anything could be more contemptible than the way in which Henry allowed himself to be led. He never dared openly to rebel against any one under whose sway he had come, he never dared to meet a man face to face. Though he might bitterly resent the treatment he received, he never mustered sufficient courage to put a stop to it himself. He conspired against his ministers or his wives,—secretly he sought for allies to overthrow the hated tyrants, but until he found a strong and decided hand to carry him forward and to destroy his victim, he never ventured to assert his authority. Wolsey ousted Fox and Catherine, Anne Boleyn overthrew Wolsey. When Henry became thoroughly tired of Anne he dared not attack her until Cromwell took the lead and brought her to the scaffold. Norfolk and Gardiner avenged Anne's fate on the Earl of Essex, to be in their turn overthrown by Seymour and Dudley. From first to last, supreme power was vested in some other person than the king—there was an *alter rex.*

Je luy laisse touteffois et nen fais semblant. Sil vous plaist en faire ainsy jusques a ce que plus ouvertement je le vous face declarer jen tirerois tousjours plus en avant."

Henry's obstinacy has been advanced as a proof of a strong will. But obstinacy is by no means a sign of a strong mind, it is rather a sign of weakness. A man of strong will and quick decision will never fear to change his mind and follow a new course, for he feels sure that his energy and determination will not fail him. A weak man, on the contrary, is so very glad when for once he has come to a decision that he is loath to give it up. The consciousness of his vacillating temper impels him to cling to his resolution; he fears that if he abandons it he will float about like a ship without rudder. This was true of Henry, but it was not the whole truth; for often, when he insisted upon some important point, the explanation was that the person under whose guidance he had placed himself would have it so. The persistency with which he acted in the matter of the divorce, for instance, was due mainly to the influence of Anne Boleyn. In matters of detail he could be obstinate enough without receiving encouragement; and then he frequently held by his own opinion in order to irritate those whose yoke he had to bear. If he felt some humiliation in nearly always allowing his ministers to have their will, he felt a corresponding pride in the annoyance his sudden resistance gave them. The prayers of those who wished to dissuade him from his purpose flattered him; he gloried in the sham strength which enabled him to withstand their entreaties. He thus often rendered more difficult or even impossible the attainment of what he himself desired, and inflicted a great deal of vexation and misery on his servants.

INTROD. But the most terrible fault of Henry, and that for which outward circumstances are no excuse, was his utter want of truth. His dishonesty cannot be denied; his own handwriting is still extant to show it. Nor can it be excused on the plea that in the sixteenth century falsehood was general. There was a wide difference between the falsehood Machiavelli advised and that which Henry practised. The Florentine secretary was decidedly the more honest of the two. He approved of falsehood and deceit towards an enemy, towards a doubtful friend, or towards the general public. According to him, official documents may contain false statements, lies may be boldly told to an adversary, and the assurances of diplomatists are to be held of small account, for their rule is generally not to speak the truth. But untruthfulness and double dealing towards one's own servants and counsellors Machiavelli did not advise. Charles V. and Francis I., who followed the worst maxims of the secretary, told no lies to their chief ministers. Duprat and Gattinara, Montmorency and Covos, Chabot and Granvella were not deceived by their masters. The ministers of Henry VIII. were deceived constantly. He intrigued with one to counteract the doings of another; none of them ever felt sure that he possessed the confidence of the king. When Henry hated any of his servants and lacked the energy to dismiss them, he showed them as good natured a face as Holbein ever painted on his most flattering portrait. All the time he was accumulating a store of hatred, was laying snares for his intended victims; and at last he handed them over to their

enemies, as ruthlessly as if he had never smiled on them. In the skilful acting of his part the king often showed real talent; nobody could be certain that his amiability was not a mask. And this of course made most people afraid to commit themselves, and weakened the salutary action of the Government.

Even this was not the worst. Had Machiavelli heard of it, he would simply have said that Henry was a fool, who by deceiving too much, lost the fruit of his deceit. But if the secretary had seen how Henry was constantly intent on deceiving himself, even Machiavelli would have turned with disgust from so miserable a liar. Henry was a liar to his own conscience. He was a thoroughly immoral man, and he dared not own it to himself. He tried by all kinds of casuistic subterfuges to make his most dishonest acts appear pure virtue, to make himself believe in his own goodness. And this he did not only after the deed had been committed, so as to stifle the pangs of his conscience: before the act he contrived by sophisms to convince himself that what he desired was quite moral and right. It was his constant practice to use fine phrases about questionable acts, and to throw upon somebody else the blame for a misdeed which could not be denied. We find him urging others to do that which he has not the moral courage to do himself. We see him prompting deeds from which he afterwards shrinks back full of pious horror, never admitting for a moment that he has been the cause of them. The morality of Henry was the very type of what is commonly called "cant."

INTROD. One more fault has been laid to Henry's charge, the coarseness which he always manifested in his relations with the other sex. Even his great panegyrist has been forced to admit the truth of this. Nor can it be excused by the general coarseness of the times. The French under Francis I. were perhaps even more dissolute than the English, but Francis was a model of delicacy when compared with Henry. The Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, were all more refined in this respect than the king of England. But this is to be said in favour of Henry, that neither his parents nor those who surrounded him had given him an example of refinement. Henry VII. was quite as coarse as his son; there is scarcely anything so disgusting to be found in the correspondence of the latter as his father's instructions to John Stile when he intended to marry the Queen Dowager of Naples. Henry grew up in the most brutal and dissolute atmosphere; there was nobody to teach him better; his courtiers were as bad as their king.

Character of Catherine. If such was the character of King Henry, Catherine of Aragon was altogether different. She was not vain at all, but on the contrary very simple and careless of show, praise, or glory. If she occasionally insisted on being treated with the ceremonies due to her rank, this was not for vanity's sake, but because she considered it one of the duties of her station. Nor was she weak; she came quickly to a decision, and was most firm in doing what she considered right. She was courageous and did not shrink from responsibility; threats or danger had no influence on

her, and it was impossible to deter her from what she thought her duty by any fear of worldly consequences. She was more truthful than most people around her, infinitely more so than Henry. She was pious in the Spanish fashion, following the precepts of her Church, but taking no interest in their real sense. She was charitable and kind, true and devoted to her friends, and of a forgiving temper towards her enemies. One of the fairest praises bestowed on Catherine is a passage in a letter of Eustache Chapuis, where he deplores that she will lose the goodwill of the Duke of Norfolk by showing compassion for the pitiable state of Wolsey, the man whom she believed to be the author of all her trouble.[1] INTROD.

But on the other hand Catherine was narrow-minded, violent, and wanting in delicacy and tact. She was unable to understand any but the very simplest issues; as soon as a question became complicated it passed the limits of her intelligence. Consequently she committed gross errors of judgment which entailed a great deal of trouble on her and on her friends. She could never look at any question from a high standpoint, or gain a general view of things. She had many individual aims, many single duties, but no comprehensive scheme. Thus she was wholly unfit to strike out a way for herself, especially in the difficult position in which she found herself. She had to rely on others, first on her father

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., December 13, 1529, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. Fol. 81: "Et pour ce retourd yl ont quelque peu suspecte la Royne pour ce quelle monstra avoir quelque compassion et pitie de la Ruyne du dict Cardinal. . . ."

INTROD Ferdinand and on her confessor, afterwards on Charles V. and on his ambassador. Even when she was striving with all her might to defend her own and her daughter's rights, she never formed any independent plan. She only resolved that she would not give way, that no threat or violence should induce her to lay aside her character as the wife of Henry, or to admit her marriage to have been questionable.

While the narrowness of her mind prevented Catherine from carrying out any great plan, her want of delicacy and tact made her commit many blunders, and put her from the outset into a false position. According to two successive Spanish ambassadors, Don Gutiere Gomez de Fuensalida and Don Luis Carroz, the intimacy in which she lived with her confessor was decidedly scandalous.[1] Her father Ferdinand most certainly thought so. For in the spring of 1509, Catherine sent one of her servants, Juan de Ascoytia, with a letter to her father exculpating herself, and asking him to do all in his power that Father Diego Fernandez—such was the confessor's name—might remain with her.[2] When Ferdinand learned the facts from Juan, who was a familiar servant of the princess and could tell all that went on in her household, he became so

[1] G. G. de Fuensalida, knight commander of Membrilla, to Ferdinand of Aragon, March 20, 1509, G. Bergenroth, *Calendar of State Papers* (Spanish), Supplement to vols. i. and ii. p. 23, and Don Luis Carroz to Almazan, May 28, 1510, ibid. p. 36.

[2] Catherine of Aragon to Ferdinand, March 9, 1509, G. Bergenroth, *Calendar*, Supplement to vols. i. and ii. p. 16.

alarmed that at the next interview with the English Ambassador he told a direct lie. He said that his daughter had written to him to send her another confessor, which he intended shortly to do.[1] It is evident that Ferdinand had heard enough to make him fear that on account of this scandal the marriage with Henry might fall through. By a falsehood he hoped somewhat to shield the reputation of his daughter, or at least to gain time. With all the papers before us it cannot be disputed that Catherine acted with extraordinary imprudence in persisting in having the friar with her as her confessor and most intimate servant. Though we may hold that there was no guilt of the kind suspected at the time, we cannot much admire a person who utterly disregarded her own reputation.

But it was not only in this way that her want of tact prevented Catherine from obtaining a good position. The same defect caused her to omit a good many little acts of amiability which, by a man of Henry's temper, are generally much more prized than serious devotion. That Catherine was quite incapable of flattering Henry, may not be imputed to her as a fault, but it was a disadvantage to her. That she was equally incapable of humouring the whims and caprices of her husband, and of coaxing him into any course she wished him to follow, was a real defect. Instead of leading her husband with "iron hand in glove of velvet," she allowed him to feel the whole harshness of her grasp. If she wanted anything,

[1] John Stile to Henry VII., April 26, 1509, J. Gairdner, *Memorials of King Henry VII.*, Appendix, p. 435.

INTROD. she asked for it directly, without charm of manner; when she was displeased, she too plainly showed her resentment. There was no pliancy in her disposition, and this must have been terribly wounding to the feelings of such a man as Henry. Still, such was his weakness that for nearly four years he accepted her guidance; rather than stand alone he submitted to her disagreeable rule. As to the broad features of foreign politics Catherine followed the advice of her father, but she was incompetent to deal with purely English questions. She disliked the English system of government as it had been carried on under Henry VII., and as, with little modification, it remained during the reign of his son. Since she was not strong enough to change it, she simply opposed now and then some of the measures proposed by the royal ministers. The part she played in home politics was unimportant, but such influence as she exerted was not exerted generally to the advantage of the crown. The blunders she committed in this manner helped to prepare the way for her ruin.

Political Parties. The two great parties into which Englishmen who took any interest in politics were then divided were the party of the aristocracy and the party of the officials. The aristocratic party was composed of nearly all the peers with their relatives and dependants, and of the great majority of the independent gentry. The party of the officials consisted of all those royal servants who, by their talents and industry, had risen in the bureaucratic hierarchy, with their families and clients, and of those courtiers who

depended entirely on the favour of the king. Both parties were very powerful, both had their distinct traditions and aims, the foremost of which was to ruin the rival faction.

The Lords.

Nearly all the lay peers at that time were great landowners, some of them to an extent altogether unknown now. At their country seats they kept large establishments, a hundred servants not being considered extravagant for a simple baron, while dukes and marquises had two or three times as many. Some of these servants were of the better classes—the sons of knights, of gentlemen, and sometimes even of nobles. Young men attached themselves to the households of the great barons, partly to lead at the country seats or at the town houses of their patrons a pleasant and gay life, partly to learn with them the ways of the world, partly to rise and to make their fortune by the influence of their masters. The lords found among them energetic and faithful agents both for political intrigue and for military service. And as every peer had at his house a well-stocked armoury, he had at his command the nucleus of a small administration and a miniature army, the ranks of which he could at any time swell by the aid of his tenants and clients.

The latter were generally very numerous. In those troubled times a man of the middle classes—unless he happened to possess extraordinary energy and capacity—could not stand by himself. In the greater towns men were formed into guilds and could defend themselves jointly, but in small towns, in villages

INTROD. and in the country, this was not the case. Here they were obliged to look out for patrons able and willing to defend them against oppression and violence. In the peers they generally found such protectors. Most peers had influence at court and at quarter sessions, and were held in respect by the sheriff and the other officials of the county. A peer therefore who was ready to assist the yeomen and small burghers around him readily found a great many clients, who in return for the protection he gave them stood by him in his quarrels. Even the severe laws of Henry VII. against retainers had not been able to change this order of things. Many peers boasted that with their household servants, their clients, their tenants, and their sons and servants, they could bring ten thousand men into the field; and it was the bare truth. Each single lord was still a powerful baron, and when they all stood together they represented a force which it would not have been easy to subdue.

The peers were divided on many questions, there were frequent quarrels among them, and they regarded one another with a good deal of jealousy. But they had common interests which held them together. As great landlords they wished for the same financial and administrative measures. As men whose fortune was already made, they naturally combined against those who were striving to rise. Being nearly all men of the sword, they disliked the clerkly official. These were ties strong enough to bind the whole peerage into a party with very specific aims.

The independent gentry generally sided with the lords. They too were great landowners, and if they rose in rank, it was only to become peers. They led a life very similar to that of the barons, to whom most of them were related; so that all their interests and sympathies were akin to those of the class above them, and they followed their natural bent, and stood by their party.

Nor was this all that contributed to the power of the lords. Tradition was in their favour. The offices of high treasurer, high steward, lord chamberlain and chamberlain of the household were reserved for them. The command of the armies, the wardenship of the northern marches, the deputyship of Ireland and of Calais, were generally held by some of them. They were also employed on great embassies, and on all great occasions of state. Those peers who sat on the royal council had, therefore, considerable influence as heads of a party holding many high offices.

But what was all this power and influence when compared with the position their grandfathers had enjoyed? The lords thought of the time when a Warwick could make and unmake the king, when there was no power in England equal to that of their class. They regretted those halcyon days, which tradition rendered more bright; and they wished to see the king reduced once more to the position of *primus inter pares*, to diminish the authority of the administration and to augment that of parliament. In fact, they desired a total reversal of the policy of the Tudors. For a long time they had been in

INTROD. opposition, now openly, now secretly, withstanding the constant extension of the royal prerogative.

The fact that they had never within the remembrance of the people been placed at the head of the administration, that they had never held undisputed sway in the councils of the two Henrys, was in some respects of great advantage to the lords. For they had never had any occasion to show their incapacity, nor had they been obliged to impose taxes, to enforce odious laws, or to annoy people by fiscal regulations. They had, on the contrary, persistently clamoured against the harshness of the existing system. They were therefore looked upon as the faithful defenders of the liberty of the subject, and as the only safeguard against the tyranny of the king and the rapacity of the officials. And this made them not a little popular.

The Officials. The officials formed a party less numerous, but much better organised, than the peers and their adherents. As a political power they were but of recent origin. Henry VII., on coming to the throne, had fully realised that it would be impossible to establish a strong and durable government without having at his command a body of men, thoroughly versed in all the arts of administration, owing obedience to no one but the king, and wholly devoted to him. Such a body of officials he had set himself to form, and before the end of his reign, he had brought together a large number of able and energetic civil servants. Henry VIII. sacrificed a few of the most hated of his father's ministers, but he was clever enough to know the value of the bureaucracy Henry VII. had left

behind him. He was careful not to disorganise so admirable an instrument of arbitrary rule. Under Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, and subsequently under Cardinal Wolsey, the body of officials was strengthened and made even more effective than it had been under Henry VII.

Nearly all officials had risen from the lower ranks of life. Such men were preferred, for those who had no connection with any of the great houses were less likely to be led astray by family influence. As the salaries were very small, it was their interest to compete for extraordinary grants in return for good and zealous work. They were eager to please their superiors, that they might be recommended to the royal bounty; and when they rose high enough to attract the attention of the king, their chief object was to win his favour. The officials vied with each other in fulfilling his wishes, their promotion being wholly dependent on his good will.

The officials were most corrupt. To the grants they obtained from the king they added the bribes they extorted from the public. Bribery was practised in every form in a most shameful way. Many of those who had frequent occasion to transact business in the royal courts conferred some sinecure or pension on the most influential members of the bureaucracy, others made a present every time they appeared. With the exception of a few persons known to enjoy the special favour of the king, no man could obtain the speedy discharge of his business without offering a bribe. The clearest right could not obtain a hearing, the simplest formality could not be gone through, all

INTROD. manner of obstacles were raised, if no present was forthcoming. Nor was this all. Besides being rapacious the royal officials were generally ill-bred and overbearing. They were upstarts, who had to undergo many a humiliation, and who avenged themselves on the public for the slavish cringing demanded of them by the king. As a body, therefore, they were detested by the nation, while the most conspicuous among them were held in special execration.

Their unpopularity greatly enhanced their value in the eyes of Henry VIII. Had he withdrawn his protection from them, innumerable enemies would have risen against them and hunted them down. The officials were as much at the king's mercy in this respect as in any other; with them the loss of the royal favour meant ruin, if not death. And as they knew that the throne was their only safeguard, they stood most faithfully by it. In fact, during the reign of Henry VII. and of his son, although we hear of many a conspiracy of the nobles, we never hear of a conspiracy of the officials against the king. Even if they had preferred some pretender they would not have dared to favour him; for in case of a revolution they would have fared very badly; the mob would have risen against them. So the officials were constantly on their guard against the dangers which beset the throne, and were always ready to put down with the greatest sternness any attempt at rebellion. It was this quality which made them most valuable to a king who by his arbitrary proceedings excited the ill-will of his subjects. Henry VIII. without his officials would have had but a brief career.

Enmity between the Peers and the Officials.

The peers and the officials were of course deadly enemies. The lords hated the officials for their rapacity and insolence, but even more on account of the power they gave to the crown. The officials, on the other hand, hated the lords for the resistance they offered to their exactions and tyrannical bearing, and for the share they had in the royal favour. Every grant, every office which the peers were able to secure for one of their party seemed to the members of the bureaucracy a clear loss to themselves. Every suitor introduced directly to the king detracted from their income, for he paid them no bribes. The lords spoiled their trade, making it far less lucrative than it would otherwise have been.

Their political creeds, too, were wholly opposed to one another. While the peers wished to limit the power of the crown, the officials, as the chief agents of the royal authority, were eager to extend it. On this account a constant war raged between the two parties; under the smooth surface of the court a bitter enmity lay hidden. Any measures favoured by the one party were sure to arouse the suspicions of the other. To be friends with both was not possible; whoever wished to have some influence in politics was obliged to ally himself either with the officials or with the peers.

Catherine and the Officials

Catherine generally sided with the peers. Not only were all her instincts in favour of the aristocracy, she was disgusted at the way in which the officials used their power; and she incurred their very hearty aversion by occasionally trying to resist their

INTROD. tyranny. Henry was well aware that the tone which Catherine adopted towards the officials was not to his advantage, but he could not muster sufficient energy to prevent her from thwarting them. A party secretly hostile to Catherine continued to have a large share of his favour and confidence; and they missed no opportunity of undermining the queen's influence.

That Ferdinand of Aragon cheated his beloved son-in-law more than even Henry would submit to, may have been one of the reasons why in 1513 Catherine suddenly lost the control she had exercised over her husband. Another reason is to be found in the considerable humiliation which the queen in that year inflicted on poor Henry. The king had in the spring of 1513 crossed the Channel for the purpose of leading the army with which he intended to conquer the whole of France. To begin this modest undertaking he had sat down before Therouenne, a place which could be of no earthly use to him, but which greatly annoyed the town of St. Omer belonging to Archduke Charles. Near Therouenne he was joined by the Emperor Max, who brought him no soldiers, but gained his heart by compliments. Shortly afterwards Max won for Henry that famous cavalry engagement known as the Battle of the Spurs. Henry trumpeted this victory all over the world, but the world was just for once. Even in England Max, not Henry, was credited with the result, and the country rang with the praise of the "second Mavors." Therouenne being taken had to be razed to the ground; after which, by the advice of the emperor,

Henry humiliated by Catherine.

Tournay was attacked, a place eighty miles from the nearest English fort, but wedged in between Charles's territories. After the capture of Tournay, in which an English garrison was placed, the campaign came to an end, and Henry could not but be a little ashamed when he compared the small result with his gigantic anticipations. During his absence the Scots, as hereditary allies of France, had invaded the northern borders; and Catherine, who had been left as regent in England, acted with energy and courage. An army was soon collected of which the Earl of Surrey assumed the command. But this was not sufficient for the queen; the martial ardour of her forefathers rekindled in her; she took to horse and rode towards the north to place herself at the head of the troops.[1] Surrey's speedy and complete success prevented her from going farther than Woburn, but her vigorous behaviour gained for her the esteem and admiration of the English people. The Battle of Flodden, fought by Englishmen in defence of English soil, interested them much more than a brilliant cavalry engagement fought for no national purpose, somewhere in Artois, by German and Burgundian mercenaries. Catherine and Surrey were the heroes of the day, not Henry and his favourites.

And Catherine, with her usual awkwardness, did her best to bring this truth home to Henry. He had sent the Duc de Longueville, made prisoner at Guinegatte, to England, to be kept there in confinement. Catherine in return sent three Scots over

[1] L. Pasqualigo to his brother, September 17, 1513, R. Brown, *Calendar of State Papers*, Venetian, vol. ii. p. 146.

INTROD. to Henry, with a letter saying that it was no great thing for a man to make another man prisoner, but that here were three men made prisoners by a woman.[1] She was made to pay very dearly for the coarse way in which she showed her exultation. Henry, jealous of her fame and glory, stung to the quick by her taunt, looked out for a new counsellor.

Among the brilliant courtiers of Henry there were none who could take the place; they were ornamental nullities. Supple enough to humour Henry's whims, just clever enough to flatter his vanity, they had no qualities which would have enabled them to guide him. There were, indeed, a few noblemen who might have filled the post of prime minister tolerably well; but Henry distrusted them, not without reason, for even the most loyal of them would never have defended his interests with that energy which was necessary for the safety of the throne.

Thomas Wolsey.

But there was at court one Thomas Wolsey, a priest, who as a young man had entered the service of Sir John Nanfan, had afterwards passed to that of Fox, Bishop of Winchester, and towards the end of Henry VII.'s reign had obtained a place in the royal chapel. He was an able man, and when Henry VIII. succeeded, he knew how to flatter the new king: clever, gay, witty, and pliant, he amused and pleased his royal master. Not long afterwards he was made royal almoner, which was already an important position, for the almoner was employed in all kinds of secular business. Wolsey was grateful for

[1] Sanuto Diaries. R. Brown, *Calendar*, vol. ii. pp. 139 and 140.

the favour shown to him, and proved his gratitude by zealous and able service. At the same time he made his company agreeable to the king, who often went to sup with him, Wolsey being quite ready to forget the gravity of his cloth and to amuse his royal visitor by all kinds of jokes. He was chosen to accompany Henry to France as head of the commissariat of the army; and this was most advantageous to him. Henry, far from Catherine, was no longer under her sway; he allowed himself to be guided and advised by his almoner, whose knowledge of business contrasted agreeably with her incapacity. Wolsey, who was of unbounded ambition, seized the opportunity, and determined to become, if possible, the king's prime minister.

He had an immense advantage over all his lay competitors for the post. Henry could not be jealous of any fame or glory he might gain, for Wolsey was but a priest.

In modern England a clergyman is treated in much the same way as other men: if any difference is made it is rather in his favour. During the middle ages this was not the case. The Church was certainly held sacred, and its ministers shared in some measure the respect paid to the institution. But the respect shown to them was not the respect shown to an equal; there was always a mixture of contempt in it. In an age when every man had to defend his liberty, security, and honour by force of arms, military courage was the paramount virtue. The peaceful citizen, the inoffensive villein were despised; every one of their occupations was looked

INTROD. upon with scorn. A true knight spent his time in fighting, jousting, and love-making—three occupations specially forbidden to the clergy. No wonder, then, that the proud warrior looked down on the priest with that feeling which the strong and courageous have for the weak and craven. A priest for him was a special kind of being, something between a man and a woman, with most of the privileges of the latter, with none of the rights of the former. "Friars and women cannot insult" was a typical mediæval saying.

England, indeed, had during thirty years of peace and strong government gained more modern ideas about knights and priests, but Henry still cherished many of the notions of the middle ages. He aspired to the glory and fame of a valiant knight, a fame which Brandon or Carew, Compton or Pointz might share with him, but which could never fall to the lot of Wolsey. There was no danger that by being raised to high position he would become a rival whose fame might eclipse that of the king. Let Mr. Almoner be ever so clever, active, witty, and brilliant, neither in the field nor with fair ladies could he boast of any success. He would for ever remain but a priest.

Henry had not, therefore, the slightest hesitation in raising his new favourite to the highest dignities. The bishopric of Tournay, the archbishopric of York were bestowed upon him; the Pope was induced to make him a cardinal; and he became lord chancellor. Henry handed over the reins of government to him, trusting his ability and devotion, and relying on his quick and

firm decision. And Wolsey, though he took good care of his own interests, in a way served his master faithfully enough. The policy he pursued was more brilliant than really wise, but it was just what Henry appreciated. His alliance was courted, he was flattered by pope, emperor, and Christian king; he thought himself one of the greatest sovereigns on earth.

But Wolsey committed a mistake which was committed by all Henry's ministers; he became rather too forgetful of the feelings of his master. By and bye the king began to be annoyed at the way in which the cardinal carried on the whole government of the realm. He had not courage to rebel, for he could neither govern by himself nor had he anybody else to guide him; he submitted to the rule of Wolsey as something inevitable. But he brooded over many a grievance, and, if he had seen a chance, would have planned the destruction of his minister. His friendship became a mask to hide the humiliation he felt at being so utterly set aside by the cardinal.

Catherine during Wolsey's supremacy.

During the reign of Wolsey Catherine sank into utter insignificance. Henry's hatred for Ferdinand was, indeed, easily allayed by a splendid present sent to him by the Catholic king with flattering messages; and the anger excited by Catherine did not last long, for when she ceased to rule Henry he found her a very tolerable wife. But one thing told heavily against her: all the sons she bore to the king died shortly after birth; of her children, but one girl, Princess Mary, survived. To

INTROD. Henry, who ardently longed for a son and heir to succeed him in England and in those realms he always dreamt of conquering, this was a bitter disappointment. When Anne Boleyn began to be a prominent figure at court he had ceased to have any hope of an heir by Catherine, who was then more than forty years of age.

CHAPTER I.

ANNE AND WOLSEY.

Anne's origin.

NOWHERE has the making of false pedigrees been so extensively practised as it was in England during the sixteenth century. Every man or woman who rose in the royal favour had but to apply to the heralds, to have—for a consideration—some genealogical tree made out, the root of which was a fabulous Saxon chieftain or an equally imaginary Norman knight. In the case of Anne Boleyn we know the exact date when this service was rendered to her by Henry's kings-at-arms. In December 1530 it was found that the Boleyns had sprung from a Norman lord who had settled in England during the twelfth century, and somewhat later it was discovered that during the fourteenth century there had been in Picardy a man called Walter Boulen who had held a piece of land in fee of the Lord of Avesnes.[1] Although Lady Anne was already a very important person at court, whom

[1] Dreux de Radier, *Mémoires Historiques*, vol. iv. p. 219, and Julien Brodeau, *La Vie de Maistre Charles du Molin*, p. 6: "J'ay un tiltre du Samedi apres la St. Martin, 1344, de Baudouin de Biaunoir, Sire d'Avesnes proche de Peronne, qui nomme entre ses hommes de fief Vautier de Boulen."

CHAP. I.

it was rather dangerous to annoy, the new pedigree was received with derision by nobles of ancient descent.[1] The whole structure seems to have been most fantastic, and all that is really known of Anne's origin is that her great-grandfather, Geffrey Boleyn, was a wealthy London merchant. He was elected alderman, and in due time arrived at knighthood and the dignity of Lord Mayor.

Her great grand-father.

Sir Geffrey married a daughter of Lord Hoo and Hastings, by whom he had several children. William, his eldest son, was in turn knighted by Richard III., retired from business, bought large estates in Norfolk, Essex, and Kent, and married Margaret Butler, one of the daughters of the Earl of Ormond. Sir William was happy enough to escape the dangers of a war of succession and of several bloody insurrections; he held to the last the position of a wealthy country gentleman with some influence even at court. He had three sons and several daughters. James Boleyn, the eldest son, was to inherit the bulk of the family property. Edward Boleyn married Anne, daughter of Sir John Tempest, who was a favourite attendant of Queen Catherine and seems to have always remained attached to her party. Thomas Boleyn, the second son of Sir William, inherited some of his grandfather's ability, and went to court to make his fortune in the royal service. Being a young man of good address he succeeded in obtaining the hand of Lady Elizabeth Howard, one of the daughters of the Earl of Surrey.

Her grand-father.

Her father.

[1] Chapuis to Charles V., December 21 and 31, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. Nos. 51 and 52.

This marriage, at the time it was concluded, was not so brilliant for Thomas Boleyn as it might now appear. After the battle of Bosworth, where the Duke of Norfolk had fallen, his son, the Earl of Surrey, had been attainted and deprived of his estates. A few years later he was pardoned and restored to the earldom of Surrey, but most of his lands remained with the crown. With a very numerous family he found himself in straitened circumstances, and as he was able to give his daughters but small marriage portions, they could not expect to become the wives of men of great wealth and rank. Of the sisters of Lady Elizabeth one married Thomas Bryan, another Sir Henry Wyatt, a third Sir Griffith ap Rice. Thomas Boleyn, therefore, could well aspire to the hand of Lady Elizabeth.

The young couple at first resided chiefly at Hever, in Kent, a place belonging to Sir William Boleyn. Besides the house and the yield of the home-farm, they seem to have had in money only fifty pounds a year. But that sum was not so small as it appears: it entitled to the honour of knighthood, and enabled its possessor to lead a simple but easy life in the country. In all probability it was at Hever that Anne was born either in 1502 or in the first half of 1503.[1] She had a good many brothers and sisters, but most of them died young. The only survivors were her brother George and her sister Mary, both younger than Anne.

Birth of Anne.

While Anne was still a child the position of her

[1] About the date of Anne Boleyn's birth and the history of her early life see Appendix, Note A.

CHAP. I. father steadily improved. In 1505 Sir William Boleyn died, and his son Thomas inherited a considerable part of his wealth. At the same time the Earl of Surrey, by his prudence, energy, and skill, gradually gained the favour of Henry VII. On the accession of Henry VIII. the cloud which had hung over the house of Howard was entirely dispelled, and Surrey became one of the chief counsellors of the new king. He naturally advanced the interests of his sons-in-law. Thomas Boleyn, who had been knighted, was employed by the Government. In 1511 he and his brother-in-law, Sir Henry Wyatt, were made joint governors of Norwich Castle. In 1512 Sir Thomas was sent as ambassador to Margaret of Savoy, the ruler of the Low Countries; and henceforward we find him taking rank among the regular ministers of the crown.

Sir Thomas had now a large income, of which he made a very creditable use by giving his children a good education. He kept several masters to teach them, and though, measured by our standard, their accomplishments were but small, they were well brought up according to the ideas of their time. But

Anne in France. Sir Thomas did even more for Anne. The French court being considered in England the pattern of grace and refinement, he secured for Anne in 1514 the privilege of accompanying Mary Tudor, who went to marry Louis XII. of France.[1] Mary promised to

[1] *Epistre contenant le proces criminel fait a lencontre de la Royne Boullant d'Angleterre*, ascribed to Lancelot de Carles, to Marot and to Crispin de Milherve, printed first at Lyons, 1545, by "Charles ausmonier de Mr. le Dauphin;" and again by

look after the child, who on her part seems to have been delighted at the prospect of escaping from the monotony of Hever, and of living at the gayest of courts. It was on this occasion that she wrote to her father a most grateful letter, by the strange spelling of which some students have been sorely puzzled.[1] CHAP. I.

Towards the end of 1514 Mary Tudor, accompanied by Surrey, now created Duke of Norfolk, by Sir Thomas Boleyn, and by her little attendant Anne, crossed the Channel. At Abbeville the marriage ceremony was performed, after which Louis, jealous of English influence, dismissed the servants his young wife had brought over. Exceptions were made, however, in favour of Anne and of her cousin the Lady Elizabeth Grey, as both were children and could have no influence on the Queen. Shortly afterwards King Louis died, and his widow hastened to marry Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and returned to England. But Anne, who by this time had learned a good many French ways, remained behind. By the wish of her father she was intrusted to the care of the new queen, Claude of France, an excellent woman, who is said to have taken the greatest pleasure in the education of young girls.

Crapelet, at Paris, in his *Lettres de Henry VIII. a Anne Boleyn:*

"Or Monseigneur je crois que bien scavez
Et de longtemps la connaissance avez
Que Anne Boullant premierement sortit,
De ce pays quand Marie en partit.
Pour s'en aller trouver le Roy en France
Pour accomplir des deux Roys l'aliance."

[1] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MSS. vol. 119, fol. 21.

CHAP. I. Under this superintendence Anne remained six years in France, learning French and Italian, and acquiring all those arts and graces by which she was afterwards to shine. When towards the end of 1521 the political aspect became rather threatening, Sir Thomas recalled his daughter. She had now become a young woman, not very handsome, but of elegant and graceful figure, with very fine black eyes and hair and well-shaped hands. She was naturally quick and witty, gifts her French education had fully developed. Being extremely vain and fond of praise and admiration, Anne laid herself out to please, a task not very difficult for a young lady just returned from the centre of all elegance. Being so closely related to one of the greatest noblemen in the realm, she soon obtained a good position at court, and shared its gaieties and pastimes.

Proposed Marriage. Already, before Anne's return, it had been proposed that she should marry Sir James Butler, son of Sir Piers Butler, an Irish chieftain, who had set up a claim to the earldom of Ormond, and had seized the Irish estates of the late lord. The Earl of Surrey, Anne's uncle, who was at the time lord deputy of Ireland, wished by this marriage to conciliate the conflicting claims of the late earl's English legitimate descendants and of his illegitimate son, Sir Piers, whom the Irish people preferred. Anne was to receive as her dowry the claims of the Boleyn and Saintleger families, and her father-in-law was to be created Earl of Ormond. Cardinal Wolsey was favourable to the plan, and Sir Thomas Boleyn and his English relations were ready

to accept the compromise; but the pretensions of the Irish chieftain were exorbitant. A year passed during which Surrey and he haggled about the terms, and at the end of 1522 the matter was given up. CHAP. I.

Anne's Sister.

The events of Anne's life from 1523 to 1526 are not exactly known. Her fortunes were at that time thrown into the shade by those of her younger sister Mary. Early in 1521 the latter had married William Carey, one of the gentlemen of Henry's chamber. As she resided constantly at court and seems to have been rather handsome, she attracted the attention of the king, and soon became his mistress.[1] But Mary Carey did not contrive to make her position profitable either to herself or to her husband: it was her father, Sir Thomas Boleyn, who reaped the golden harvest. Mr. Brewer in his Calendar has recorded a few of the grants he obtained from the king: on the 24th of April, 1522, the patent of treasurer of the household; five days later the stewardship of Tunbridge, the receivership of Bransted, and the keepership of the manor of Penshurst; in 1523 the keepership of Thunderby and Westwood Park, and in 1524 the stewardship of Swaffham. Having by all these lucrative employments obtained sufficient means to sustain the dignity, Sir Thomas was in 1525 created Lord Rochford.

Lord Rochford.

Her father holding an office which obliged him to be nearly always at court, Anne spent a good part of her time with him in the vicinity of the royal palace.

[1] See Appendix, Note B.

CHAP. I. Although there was much gaiety around her, she appears to have felt rather dissatisfied. Being long past twenty and still only plain Mistress Anne, what wonder if she thought that as her elders were not eager to provide a husband for her she might look out for herself? There was at that time in the household of Cardinal Wolsey a foolish, wayward, violent young man, Sir Henry Percy, eldest son and heir of the Earl of Northumberland. He had been sent to Wolsey to learn under his roof the manners and customs of the court, and to gain the patronage of the great cardinal. Not being able to do any more useful work, Sir Henry simply followed Wolsey when the latter went to court. On these occasions he frequently met Mistress Anne; a flirtation began between them; and Percy being a very fair prize, she tried her best arts on him. The young knight soon fell desperately in love, and did not hide his intention of making her his wife. Wolsey was greatly displeased when he heard of it, and immediately sent for Sir Henry. The latter made a frank avowal, and ingenuously begged that his betrothal with Lady Mary Talbot, which had taken place in 1523 or 1524, might be formally cancelled. But he met with no favour; Wolsey soundly rated him for his presumption, and, when Sir Henry proved obstinate, called in the old Earl of Northumberland to carry off his son. Both Anne and Percy were enraged at this interference with their affairs, and retained a grudge against the cardinal to the end of his life.

Anne and Sir Henry Percy.

One of the reasons which have been assigned for

Wolsey's opposition to Sir Henry Percy's wishes, is that the cardinal was already aware that the king was in love with Anne. There is nothing improbable in this. The reign of Mary Carey was past, her fickle lover had turned to other beauties, and it is pretty certain that in 1526 there was already a flirtation between him and Anne. This may have been known to Wolsey, and may have influenced his conduct.

For some time Anne kept her royal adorer at an even greater distance than the rest of her admirers. She had good reason to do so, for the position which Henry offered her had nothing very tempting to an ambitious and clever girl. Unlike his contemporary Francis I., unlike some of his successors on the English throne, Henry VIII. behaved rather shabbily towards those of his fair subjects whom he honoured with his caprice. The mother of his son, Henry Fitzroy, had been married to a simple knight, and had received little money and few jewels or estates. Mary Boleyn had not even fared so well; her husband remained plain Mr. Carey, and the grants bestowed on her were small. Nor had these or the other ladies who had become royal mistresses ever held a brilliant position at court. Their names are scarcely mentioned in contemporary records, and they would all have been utterly forgotten had not a few of them been otherwise remarkable. Under these circumstances it cannot be considered an act of great virtue that Anne showed no eagerness to become the king's mistress. She certainly was at first rather reticent, for we know from one of Henry's letters that she kept

CHAP. I. him in suspense for more than a year.[1] She was pleased to have the king among her admirers, but she wished for something better than the position of Elizabeth Blount or of her sister Mary.

Still, if a more brilliant prospect had not opened before Anne, it is highly probable that after having secured what would have seemed to her a fair equivalent she would have put aside her scruples. For whatever her good qualities may have been, modesty did not hold a prominent place among them. Sir Henry Percy was not the only man with whom she had an intrigue. Thomas Wyatt, her cousin, though already married, was her ardent admirer. She gave him a golden locket, and, if we may believe their contemporaries, he received from her very different treatment from that which she now accorded to Henry.[2]

It is not, therefore, uncharitable to suppose that if Anne had had no chance of becoming Henry's wife she might have tried to obtain by her ability and charms that position in England which her famous namesake, Anne d'Etampes, held in France. She might have become the first duchess of the Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Kendal class, and her offspring might to this day have been the mighty and highly respected Dukes of Pembroke.

[1] Crapelet, *Love Letters of Henry VIII.*, Letter No. iv. p. 110.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., May 10, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. 50: "Sire il y a longtemps que le duc de Suffocq ne sest trouve en cort et dit lon quil est banni pour quelque temps a cause quil revela au Roy que la dame avoit este trouvee au delit avec un gentilhomme de court qui desja en avoit autreffois este chasse pour suspicion."

Rumours of a divorce.

But when Henry began to pay court to Anne there was already a rumour that he was tired of his queen, that he was greatly annoyed at having no legitimate son to succeed him, and that he might possibly discard Catherine and look out for a younger bride. There were rumours to this effect whenever Henry was on bad terms with the family of the queen. When, in 1514, he had quarrelled with King Ferdinand, his father-in-law, it had been said that he would divorce Catherine, who had then no child living.[1] The political troubles of 1526 were in some respects very similar to those of 1514, and they naturally gave rise to the same reports.

At this time both king and prime minister had been deeply offended by Charles V., the nephew of the queen. The emperor, after the battle of Pavia, had taken but little account of the wishes and pretensions of Henry. He knew that the king and Wolsey had been negotiating a private peace with France, that they had intentionally delayed the payment of subsidies, and that they had been quite ready to betray him. After his victory, therefore, with more justice than prudence, he treated his faithless ally with scarcely hidden contempt. Henry resented the slight, and was unwilling to give up the foolish hope that he might one day become King of France. The cardinal was equally displeased. In 1521 the emperor had promised him an indemnity for his pension from France, and had undertaken to support him at the next conclave ; but the new

[1] Sanuto Diary, September 1, 1514, R. Brown, *Venetian Calendar*, vol. ii. p. 188.

CHAP. I.

pensions had been paid most irregularly, and at the two conclaves of 1521 and 1523 the imperialist cardinals had not voted in his favour. Tempting offers being made to him by Louise de Savoye, he advised Henry to go over to the French, and both king and minister now freely abused the emperor. Catherine, who liked her nephew, was far too honest to hide her feelings; she defended him, and thereby drew on herself a part of her husband's anger. In these circumstances the possibility of a divorce began once more to be talked about.

A divorce such as may be obtained now was not possible in the time of Henry VIII. Marriage being a sacrament was held to be indissoluble. Consequently, when a man wished to get rid of his wife without killing her, he had to prove that his marriage had never been good and valid. This was done with a facility of which nobody can form an idea without being acquainted with the composition and practice of the courts before which such cases were brought. They were most corrupt, and always ready to please the strongest. Mr. Brewer, in his Calendar, cites but one example, that of the Duke of Suffolk, who twice committed bigamy and was three times divorced, who began by marrying his aunt and ended by marrying his daughter-in-law.[1] But his case was by no means extraordinary; during the reign of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. there were many similar instances. The repudiation of a wife was a matter of nearly daily occurrence.

[1] Brewer, *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii. p. xxxiv. note, &c.

CHAP. I.

Anne, who had seen people repudiate their old wives and take new and younger brides, who knew that Henry was on bad terms with the queen and that he ardently wished to have a legitimate son, began to consider what effect all this might have upon her own fortunes. Perceiving that she might be able to displace Catherine, she resolved to spurn every lower prize and to strive with all her might for the crown. From this time she ceased to be merely a clever coquette, and became an important political personage.

Anne begins to aim at the Crown.

If Anne wished to keep her power over Henry unimpaired, to increase her influence and finally to reach the desired end, she had to play a difficult game. She had to refuse the king's dishonourable proposals, yet had to make her society agreeable to him. Had she yielded, he would very soon have grown tired of her, for he was the most fickle of lovers, having hitherto changed his loves with even greater facility than his good brother of France. But Anne was quite clever enough to succeed; Henry bitterly complained of her severity, but never found her company tiresome. The longer this lasted the more his love for her increased: what had at first been a simple caprice became a violent passion for which he was ready to make great sacrifices.

Her difficulties.

Although the idea of a divorce had presented itself to many minds at an earlier date, no allusion whatever is made to it in the state papers before 1527. A letter of John Clerk, Bishop of Bath, of the 13th September, 1526, in which occur the words that

Henry attempts to divorce Catherine.

September 13, 1526.

CHAP. I. there will be great difficulty *circa istud benedictum divortium*, clearly refers to the divorce between Margaret of Scotland and the Earl of Angus.[1] Margaret had just obtained at Rome a sentence in her favour, the revocation of which was desired by Henry. It is only in the spring of 1527, long after the king had been sighing at Anne's feet, that the divorce is first seriously mentioned.

April, 1527. In the spring of 1527 Henry consulted some of his most trusted counsellors about the legality of his marriage with his late brother's widow. Fully understanding in what direction the royal wishes lay, they immediately showed great scruples. Wolsey himself seems to have been eager to please the king; he was perhaps not aware that Henry had some other motive than a simple dislike of Catherine and the desire for a son and heir. That Lord Rochford, Anne's father, was in favour of the divorce awakened no suspicion, for he was a French pensioner, decidedly hostile to the emperor. The notion that Anne might profit by the intrigue, or even that she had anything to do with it, would have seemed preposterous. Wolsey thought that Anne had become Henry's mistress; and as he knew from long experience that in such cases the king was tired of his conquest in a few months, he confidently expected that long before the divorce could be obtained Anne would be cast off. In that case he hoped to make a good bargain by selling the hand of his master to the highest bidder.

[1] British Museum, Cotton MSS. Caligula, D. ix. 248, and Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 1109.

Consequently the cardinal had no reason to object to Henry's wish to get rid of Catherine. He lent himself to a most odious attempt to cheat Catherine out of her good right. On the 17th of May, 1527, Wolsey, with Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, held secretly a court at Westminster, before which Henry was cited. Proceedings were begun nominally against the king for having lived for eighteen years in incestuous intercourse with the widow of his late brother, and Henry pretended to defend himself against the accusation. A second sitting was held on the 20th, a third on the 31st. At the latter sitting, Dr. John Bell appeared as proctor of the king, while Dr. Richard Wolman, a trusted royal servant, was appointed to plead against him.[1]

May 17, 1527.

But it was felt that the authority of the two archbishops alone might not be sufficient to overcome the public feeling against the divorce. Wolsey, therefore, proposed that the question whether a man might marry his late brother's wife should be submitted to a number of the most learned bishops in England. The question was put in such a way that it was thought all the bishops would answer as the king desired. It was intended that the court should meet once more in secret after receipt of the answer of the bishops, that it should declare the marriage of Henry and Catherine to have been null and void from the beginning, and that it should condemn them to separate and to undergo some penance for the sin

[1] Proceedings before Cardinal Wolsey, May 17 to 31, 1527, R.O. and Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. pp. 1426 to 1429.

CHAP. I. they had lived in. After this, Henry would have been free to marry whom he chose.[1]

Unhappily the bishops did not prove quite so subservient as had been expected; perhaps, too, they had not perceived the drift of the question. Most of them answered that such a marriage with papal dispensation would be perfectly valid.[2] This of course made it difficult for the archbishops to decide in Henry's favour; and even if they did decide in his favour, Catherine would still have the right of appeal from their judgment to that of the pope. At this time all the world was startled by the tidings that the pope was shut up by the imperial troops in the castle of St. Angelo, and it was pretty certain that Clement would not in these circumstances dare to give judgment against the emperor's aunt. The news of the pope's imprisonment was therefore as disagreeable as the reply of the bishops. Henry was further disconcerted by learning that the secret had not been well kept, and that Catherine was perfectly aware of the steps taken against her.

May 6, 1527.

Cardinal Wolsey was so much hated by most Englishmen, Catherine was so popular, and the course which Henry pursued was so repugnant to his people, that even his most trusted agents did not scruple to betray his confidence. On the day after the first sitting at Westminster Don Iñigo de Mendoza, the imperial ambassador, was informed of all that

May 18, 1527

[1] Proceedings before Cardinal Wolsey, May 17 to 31, 1527, R.O. and Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 1429.

[2] The Bishop of Rochester to Wolsey, R.O. and Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 1434.

had been done. A friend of Catherine told him, and although the man denied that he acted by her order, Mendoza felt sure that he came with the consent of the queen, and that the help of the emperor was wanted.[1] CHAP. I.

Under these conditions it was not easy to proceed, for Catherine might make great difficulties, and the matter, if rendered public by her, might lead to the serious embarrassment of the government. But Henry was so much bent on having his way at once that he made an attempt to wring from Catherine some acknowledgment of the justice of his pretended scruples. On the 22nd of June he spoke to her, saying that since he had married her he had been living in a state of mortal sin, and that henceforward he would abstain from her company; and he asked her to retire to some place far from court. If Henry expected that Catherine would give way he was mistaken. She was very much moved and burst into tears, but she neither admitted the justice of Henry's scruples, nor made choice of a separate residence. The king, seeing his error, was afraid to press her further. He blandly told her that all would be done for the best, and asked her to keep the matter secret.[2] *June* 22, 1527.

All proceedings were for the moment abandoned; but Henry was very angry at his defeat, and would have liked to carry matters with a high hand, and to bully his bishops into a favourable opinion. He was

[1] Don Iñigo de Mendoza to Charles V., May 18, 1527, Vienna Archives, P.C. 224, i. No. 18; and Gayangos, *Calendar of State Papers*, Spanish, vol. iii. part ii. p. 193.

[2] Don Iñigo de Mendoza to Charles V., July 13, 1527, Vienna Archives, P.C. 224, i. No. 22; and Gayangos, *Calendar*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 276.

CHAP. I.

especially indignant with Wolsey for not taking definite action, and startled him by the violence of his expostulations.[1]

Wolsey goes to France.

The negotiations with France had now proceeded so far that it was necessary to send a special embassy to treat with Francis about the league against the emperor. Wolsey was undoubtedly the person most fitted for such a mission, and at any other time he would have acted wisely in undertaking it himself. At this juncture, however, he committed a great blunder in deciding to go to Amiens. Henry was urging him to reopen the legatine court, and to continue the proceedings in the divorce case; and Wolsey may have wished to leave the country for a time in order to escape from this difficulty. He certainly hoped that during his absence Henry's passion would become less violent, and that he would find means to satisfy the king without making himself even more odious to the people than he already was. With these thoughts and hopes Wolsey left at the beginning of July with a numerous retinue, and crossed over to France.

Growing influence of Anne.

August, 1527.

The cardinal had not been absent a month before it became plain to most courtiers that the divorce was sought in favour of Anne.[2] She now almost constantly resided at court, remained for hours with the king, and scarcely thought it worth while to hide her

[1] Wolsey to Henry VIII., July 1, 1527, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 194.

[2] Don Iñigo de Mendoza to Charles V., August 16, 1527, Vienna Archives, P.C. 224, i. No. 27; and Gayangos, *Calendar*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 327.

purpose. This made the divorce very unpopular, for Lord Rochford, mean and grasping, was not beloved, while Anne had but a sorry reputation, and, owing to the violence of her temper and the insolence of her language, was disliked by the court in general. Such decency as still survived among English courtiers was shocked by the remembrance of the king's relation to Anne's sister, and everybody saw through the lie of Henry's scruples. When Wolsey started for France he probably anticipated that the king, left to himself, would be cowed by the strength of the opposition, and would abandon his design.

If such were the thoughts of Wolsey, he underrated the ability of Anne. She could not reckon upon a single ally, but she had by this time come to understand the character of Henry, and had learned how he might be ruled. The secret of Wolsey's success was no longer hidden from her. She had the same kind of advantages as those to which the cardinal had owed his elevation: for Henry might raise her to the highest rank without fearing her rivalry; and as Wolsey had consolidated his power during Henry's absence from Catherine, so Anne was now intent on gaining a lasting influence during the absence of Wolsey. She played her game with such tact that week after week her empire became stronger. Henry allowed himself to be guided by her in matters of state, she succeeded in making him suspicious of the cardinal's judgment and intentions, and she encouraged him to act independently behind the back of his prime minister.

CHAP. I.

Wolsey's plan.

After the failure of the attempt to secure the divorce by surreptitious means, Wolsey, seeing the king so bent on it, had formed a plan by which he hoped the end might be attained in a more effective manner and with less responsibility to himself. From Abbeville he communicated it to Henry. Catherine, he said, might decline his jurisdiction or appeal to the pope. Now if Clement were free he would certainly favour the king, but he was the prisoner of Charles, and likely to continue so for some time. The cardinals who remained at liberty might, however, meet at Avignon, where Wolsey would join them; and as Perpignan was not far off the emperor might be induced to go to that place to arrange with Louise of Savoy (mother of Francis I.), and with Wolsey for the conclusion of peace, and for the liberation of the pope. If Charles refused reasonable conditions Henry might declare against him, the cardinals at Avignon would easily be induced to take steps for the government of the Church during the captivity of the pontiff, and matters might be handled in such a way that Henry would in the meanwhile gain his end.[1]

July 29, 1527.

But this method seemed too dilatory to the king, who was eager to be at liberty to marry, and to Anne, who wished soon to be queen; and Wolsey was suspected of having proposed the plan in order to gain time. It was thought that a direct appeal to the pope might be successful, and it was decided that the attempt should be made without the cardinal's knowledge. The instrument chosen by Henry and Anne

[1] Wolsey to Henry VIII., July 29, 1527, *State Papers*, vol. i. fol. 230.

was Dr. William Knight, the king's first secretary, an old and apparently somewhat conceited man, while their chief adviser seems to have been John Barlow, the chaplain of Lord Rochford.[1] Knight was to proceed to Italy, where he was to try by all means to get access to the pope. He was to ask Clement to grant a dispensation to Henry to marry at once, even if the woman he might select should be related to him within the prohibited degrees of affinity, provided only she was not the wife of somebody else. This power was to be conceded to Henry before the declaration of the invalidity of his marriage with Catherine. If the pope would not grant so much, then Knight was to ask that the king might have a dispensation to marry immediately after the dissolution of the first marriage.[2] Moreover, he was to obtain a bull, delegating for the time of the pope's captivity the whole of his spiritual power to Cardinal Wolsey.[3] To conceal this mission Knight received another set of instructions which he was to show to Wolsey, ordering him to act in accordance with the proceedings of the cardinal's agents.

CHAP. I.

Secret mission of Knight.

August, 1527.

Knight left England early in September, and first proceeded to Compiègne, where he met Wolsey.[4] The latter, though not yet informed of the secret

September 12, 1527.

[1] J. Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. vi. p. ix. footnote.

[2] Knight to Henry VIII., September 13, 1527, R.O. and *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 3

[3] Draft of Commission to Wolsey, British Museum, Cotton MSS. Vitellius, B. ix. fol. 218, printed by N. Pocock, *Records of the Reformation*, vol. i. No. XIII.

[4] Knight to Henry VIII., September 12, 1527, R.O. and *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 1.

CHAP. I.

intrigue, was very little pleased with the secretary whom Henry had chosen to negotiate with the pope.[1] He feared that his own position would be rendered even more difficult by Knight, whom he knew to be totally unfit for such an errand. Still, he could not prevent the secretary from leaving, and he had to own that his own plan was impracticable. There was a difficulty at the very beginning; the cardinals did not feel inclined to do Wolsey's bidding, and would not go to Avignon.[2]

The cardinal was of course aware of Anne's intentions; they were no longer a secret to anybody. But he seems to have retained his feeling of security, the long empire which he had held over Henry's mind having made him overbearing and blind to danger. He believed himself to be indispensable to the king, and was sure that he would not be dismissed. His negotiations in France had now come to an end, the treaty of alliance which Francis desired having been signed at Amiens; and about the middle of September Wolsey started for home.

August 18, 1527.

Sept. mber 20, 1527.

On his arrival in England he repaired on the 30th of September to Richmond, where the court was residing. He sent in a gentleman to inquire of the king where it would please his highness to receive him. On such occasions it had been Henry's custom

[1] Wolsey to Henry VIII., September 5, 1527, R.O. and *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 267.

[2] Cardinal Cibo to Cardinal Salviati July 27, 1527, *Lettere de' Principi*, vol. ii. fol. 233; Cardinal Salviati to ——, August 17, 1527, *Ibid.* vol. ii. fol. 235; and Wolsey to Henry VIII., September 5, 1527, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 270.

for many years to retire to a private room, where the cardinal met him alone, that they might be able to speak freely. But now Anne Boleyn was nearly always with the king; she already ruled him in most matters of detail, and had changed many an old custom. When Wolsey's messenger met the king in the great hall she was present. The man having delivered his message, she broke in before the king could answer. "And where else," she exclaimed, "is the cardinal to come but here where the king is?" Wolsey's servant, not yet accustomed to the new fashions at court, looked rather astonished, and waited for an answer from the king. But Henry had no wish to contradict the lady; he confirmed what she had said, and the cardinal was obliged to go to the hall. He found the king dallying with Anne and chatting with his favourites;[1] and in their presence he had his first audience, and could not of course transact any business, or exert any influence on Henry. He was taught that he was no longer the only person by whom the king allowed himself to be ruled; the days of his absolute empire were gone.

Wolsey slighted.

There is no doubt that Wolsey deeply resented the affront put upon him; but he was prudent enough to dissemble. He did not wish to irritate the king by showing his anger at the treatment he had received; for he knew that Henry required from his courtiers meek submission to any indignity he might inflict on them. Nor did the cardinal wish to gratify his

[1] Don Iñigo de Mendoza to Charles V., October 26, 1527, Vienna Archives, P.C. 224, No. 35; and *Spanish Calendar*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 432.

CHAP. I. enemies by an exhibition of his feelings. He kept very quiet, and was soon rewarded, for Anne's empire was not yet so complete that she could hope to deprive Wolsey of all influence at once. The cardinal was called to several private audiences with the king, and professed much eagerness to serve Henry in the matter of the divorce. He thereby regained in part the confidence of his master, who showed him a fair face and continued to leave to him the chief management of affairs. Still, Wolsey was not unmindful of the warning he had received; he indicated that he was ready to ally himself with Anne and to help her to attain her end. Such was the result which in a few months she had obtained.

CHAPTER II.

THE LEGATINE COURT.

Alliance between Anne and Wolsey.

In forming an alliance for the purpose of furthering the divorce of Henry, Anne and Wolsey did not act in good faith towards each other. The true reason why Anne sought his aid was that she found it impossible to win the battle with the support of such friends as the Duke of Norfolk and the Duke of Suffolk. She wanted the cardinal to obtain the divorce, and thereby to prepare the way for her own marriage with the king. The friendship would then have been at an end; Anne would have turned against the cardinal as soon as she had been proclaimed queen. Henry might still have been ready to submit to Wolsey's rule, but Anne was of far too imperious a temper to brook the authority of the prime minister. Wolsey, on the other hand, saw how much ground he had lost, and did not wish to excite the enmity of so important a person as Anne. As he was well aware that the divorce could not be obtained at once, and as he thought with the rest of the court that Anne was the king's mistress, he still expected the passion of Henry to cool down long before he could be

CHAP. II. set free. If this anticipation proved to be correct, he would be able to influence Henry either to give up the demand for a divorce or to persevere, as might seem to be most expedient. He continued to hope that, if Catherine were divorced and Anne abandoned, he might find an opportunity of selling his master's alliance, and perhaps even his hand, for a yet higher price than that which the French were actually paying him.

The alliance between Wolsey and Anne was concluded all the more quickly, because the former soon after his return from France had learned the secret of Knight's mission. He was informed of the contents of the secretary's instructions, and discovered the draft of a proposed bull of dispensation for bigamy. This gave him an immediate advantage. He went to Henry and explained how dangerous such an attempt might be to the royal cause, since it would afford the clearest proof that what the king really wanted was to marry Anne, and that his scruples had their origin in this wish. The pope, knowing the whole truth, would scarcely dare to grant a dispensation, and even if he did so, it would not have much authority with the English people. Europe would cry shame on the pope and on the king, and Henry would find himself in so difficult a position that he might be glad to escape from it by retracing every step he had taken.

Henry felt the force of Wolsey's arguments; he was cowed by his minister's firmness and decision. He agreed that new instructions should be sent to Knight, who had not yet reached Rome; that the dispensation

Henry writes to Knight.

for bigamy should be abandoned; and that the pope should be asked only to commit the matter to a legatine court in England. But Henry, though he followed the advice of his minister, did not do it cheerfully or honestly. He never admitted to Wolsey that he had all the time intentionally kept him in the dark, and he now wrote to Knight asking him not to let the cardinal know what had been done. If Wolsey made any inquiries, Knight was to answer that he had received his instructions after he had left the cardinal at Amiens. Knight would receive a new draft of a bull of dispensation—to be made use of only after the dissolution of the marriage with Catherine—"which no man does know but they which I am sure will never disclose it to no man living for any craft the Lord Cardinal or any other can find." This bull the secretary was entreated to obtain as quickly as possible in due form, keeping it, however, secret. A draft of a bull very like it would be sent by the king and cardinal jointly, but this was only *pro forma*.[1]

November, 1527.

This letter, which Henry took the trouble to write entirely with his own hand, is a very curious document. It reads more like the composition of a schoolboy found out by the master against whom he plots, than like the letter of an absolute king, who might have dismissed and ruined Wolsey at a moment's notice. It shows the awe with which he regarded the cardinal, and the secret but strong dislike he had for him. It shows how eager and impatient he was to marry Anne, and how

[1] Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MSS. cccviii. fol. 3, holograph, published by E. L. Hicks in the *Academy*, March 15, 1879.

CHAP. II. confidently he believed that the divorce would be shortly obtained. It shows how foolish, rash, and weak Henry was, how entirely he depended on others more capable and energetic than himself.

October, 1527. From Amiens Knight had first gone to Parma, in the hope that he might reach Rome without further difficulty. But the country was very unsafe, and as his mission was to remain secret he could not apply to the imperial generals for a safe-conduct, without which *November 4, 1527.* it was difficult to proceed. Finally he went to Foligno, whence he reported to the king what obstacles he had found in his way.[1] A few days later he received Henry's letter, together with the new instructions brought by John Barlow, chaplain to Lord Rochford. Knight, who was ordered to proceed at all hazards to *November 25, 1527.* Rome, accordingly set out, and after some difficulty was able to reach the city. But he could not gain admittance to the castle of St. Angelo, where the pope was still a prisoner; and he was warned that he had been detected, and advised to be off at once. He therefore *Knight outwitted.* sent a memorial in writing to Clement and returned to Foligno.[2] A few days later the pope was free, and *December 18, 1527.* the secretary hastened to meet him at Orvieto, where he repeated the demands he had already made in the memorial. On this occasion Knight seems to have committed the grossest blunders and indiscretions. He revealed what his instructions had originally been, and foolishly told the papal officials the

[1] Knight to Henry VIII., November 4, 1527, *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 13.

[2] Knight to Henry VIII., December 4, 1527, *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 16.

name of the person whom Henry wished to marry and what was the exact nature of the impediments.[1] Details so disgusting and showing so clearly the thorough bad faith of Henry, and the utter hollowness of his pretences of conscientious motives, could not but influence the pope and his advisers against granting the request. But Clement was not in a position to refuse point-blank a demand made in so urgent a manner by the King of England. He gave Knight fair words; but his chief minister Pucci, Cardinal of Santi Quattro, an able lawyer and canonist, introduced into the two documents the pope was to sign some changes which made them of no force.[2] The English secretary was not able to detect the difference between the two sets of papers; he accepted the corrected version, and left Orvieto convinced that he had obtained everything that was wanted. On his way home he once more met John Barlow, who brought him fresh and more detailed instructions from Henry and Wolsey. The secretary was so confident he had succeeded that he did not return to Orvieto but stopped at Asti, expecting high praise for his cleverness.[3]

January 9, 1528.

[1] Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor, February 7, 1533, British Museum Add. MSS. vol. 28,585, fol. 217: "Y para poderse casar con esta Ana es cierta verdad que a tiempo que embio a demandar dispensacion a Su St. para poderse casar con ella no estante la afinidad que entre ellos avie por aver mal usado de su hermana . . ."

[2] Knight to Wolsey, January 1, 1528, Burnet, *Collectanea*, part i. book ii. No. 4.

[3] Knight to Henry VIII., January 9 and 10, 1528, Pocock, *Records*, vol. i. No. xxvii. and *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 46; Knight to Wolsey, January 9 and 10, 1528, Pocock, *Records*, vol. i. No. xxviii., and Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 1687.

CHAP. II.

The poor secretary was grievously mistaken. He had sent forward by a special courier the two briefs which Clement had signed. They were handed to Wolsey, who at once perceived their real meaning and was but too glad to point out the flaws in them to the king. The commission was worth nothing; whatever Wolsey might decree, appeal would still be permitted to the pope, and the cardinal's judgment would have no effect.[1] And as the commission had been so cleverly worded by Cardinal Pucci, it was clear that the pope wished to retain the power of giving final judgment, and meant, if convenient, to make use of it. Wolsey was triumphant, for Knight, by allowing himself to be duped so easily, had given signal proof that nobody but the cardinal and his chosen agents were able to carry on so difficult a negotiation. Henry and Anne, thoroughly convinced of their incapacity to obtain their end without Wolsey's help, gave themselves up to his guidance and assented to all he proposed.

New Embassy to the Pope.

Wolsey, having now learned how strongly Henry was bent on the divorce, thought it prudent to display some energy in support of his demand. Two new agents chosen by the cardinal were sent off to Orvieto: Dr. Stephen Gardiner, hitherto chief secretary to Wolsey, and Dr. Edward Foxe, of the royal chapel. In order to gratify Anne, the two ambassadors were ordered to take Hever on their way and to communicate to her the tenor of their instructions.[2]

February 12, 1528.

[1] Wolsey to Gregorio da Casale, February 12, 1528, *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 50; Wolsey to Cardinal Santi Quattro, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 1745.

[2] Crapelet, *Lettres de Henry VIII.*, Love Letter, No. xiv. p. 134.

The instructions were twofold. The ambassadors were to press the pope to give to Wolsey and to a special legate such powers as would enable them to pronounce final judgment of divorce; and as Clement might be prepossessed against Henry and attribute to him unworthy motives, they were to dispel his misapprehensions. The legate, so ran their instructions, had heard that the king was supposed by the pope to have undertaken this cause, not from fear of a disputed succession, but out of vain affection or undue love to a gentlewoman, not so excellent as she was in England esteemed. The ambassadors were to assure the pope that this was not the case; that Wolsey would never have favoured such a scheme. On the one hand, the cardinal considered the marriage of Henry with Catherine to be invalid, and the king agreed with his opinion. On the other, "the approved "excellent virtuous qualities of the said gentlewoman, "the purity of her life, her constant virginity, her "maidenly and womanly pudicity, her soberness, "chasteness, meekness, humility, wisdom, descent "right noble and high through regal blood, education "in all good and laudable qualities and manners, ap-"parent aptness to procreation of children, with her "other infinite good qualities, more to be regarded "and esteemed than the only progeny" explained the king's desire to be quickly divorced, a desire which Wolsey regarded as honest and necessary.[1]

Could there be anything more flattering and agreeable to Anne? Not only had the proud cardinal

[1] Cardinal Wolsey to Gardiner and Foxe, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 1741.

CHAP. II. been brought to praise her to the pope in the most fulsome terms, he had declared that he approved of the king's wish to marry her. No wonder that Anne received the two ambassadors most graciously, and that she declared herself quite satisfied with the efforts made in her cause. Her former agents were now discarded. Knight was ordered to remain in France.[1] Barlow, who at least had committed no blunder, was to be rewarded for his several journeys by the gift of the parsonage of Sonridge, for which Lord Rochford and Anne interceded with Wolsey.[2] All secret negotiations were for the moment abandoned, and both Henry and Anne manifested perfect confidence in the legate. He was beginning to feel safe again, and thought that he had regained his former position.

Apparent success of the new embassy.

He was confirmed in this opinion by the success which seemed to attend the mission of Foxe and Gardiner. The two ambassadors, after protracted struggles, wrung from Clement such concessions as made the case appear hopeful to those who were unacquainted with the character of the pope and the ways of the Roman court. A joint commission was to be issued for Cardinal Campeggio and Wolsey to hear and decide the cause in England. Campeggio had been expressely chosen by Henry and Wolsey as most favourable to the king. He was

April 16, 1528.

[1] Knight to Henry VIII., April 21, 1528, R.O. and Pocock, *Records of the Reformation*, vol. i. No. lv.

[2] Lord Rochford to Wolsey, August 20, 1528, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 2020; Anne Boleyn to Wolsey, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 3166.

Cardinal Protector of England, an office worth several thousand ducats a year, and held the bishopric of Hereford in commend. He was therefore greatly dependent on Henry's good-will, and had hitherto shown himself a steadfast friend. It was hoped that in this case too he would prove to be an obedient servant of Henry, and give such sentence as the king desired.[1] CHAP. II.

As the good news of the continuous success of Wolsey's agents was received in England, Anne loudly proclaimed her gratitude to the cardinal. There was among the gentlemen of Henry's court a certain Thomas Henneage, specially employed to wait on mistress Anne, to whom he carried chosen dishes from the royal table and little gifts from the king. Many of his letters to Wolsey, containing sayings of Anne and of Lady Rochford, her mother, have been preserved. We learn from them that the cardinal and Anne kept up a frequent correspondence, although only a few letters of the lady have escaped destruction. Anne's letters and the messages delivered by Henneage, show that she was on most friendly terms with the cardinal. She was always asking little services or gifts from him. One day it is a morsel of tunny she wants, another day a dish of carps or shrimps. When she is for a time without some small remembrance of the kind Anne complains in the most charming way, and expresses a fear that the cardinal

[1] Henry VIII. to Cardinal Campeggio, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, p. 1740; Gardiner and Gregorio da Casale to Wolsey, April 13, 1528, Pocock, *Records of the Reformation*, vol. i. No. li.

CHAP. II. has forgotten her. There is no longer any trace of opposition or of rivalry; Anne decidedly acknowledges the superiority of Wolsey, and is grateful for his friendship and for the services he renders her.[1]

On the 2nd of May, 1528, Dr. Foxe returned to England to report on the mission intrusted to him and to Gardiner, and on the following day he arrived at Greenwich, where the court was staying. His presence having been announced to the king, he was ordered to repair to the apartment of Mistress Anne. He found her alone, and had time to explain to her what endeavours had been made to obtain the appointment of the legates, praising his colleague Gardiner, whose energy and zeal he extolled and whose most hearty and humble commendations he transmitted. Anne listened with pleasure, promised both Foxe and Gardiner large recompense for the good service done to her, and was evidently desirous of attaching two such able and zealous men to her cause. While they were talking Henry came in, and Anne left him alone with Foxe to receive the report the latter had to make. The king was delighted by what he heard; he called in Mistress Anne, and made Foxe repeat in her presence all he had said. In further conversation the doctor said the pope had been assured (so the pope himself had told him) that Henry wished for this divorce only in order to marry Mistress Anne, and that such haste was made because she was already with child, being a worthless person. At first Clement had believed this, but after reading Wolsey's letters he

May 3, 1528.

[1] T. Henneage to Wolsey, March 3 and 16, 1528, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. pp. 1779 and 1806.

had entirely changed his mind, and he was now favourably inclined towards the king. An account which was gladly accepted by both the king and the lady.

Wolsey and the Pope's concession.

Foxe was not allowed to leave the royal presence until late at night; nevertheless, he was ordered to go straight to Durham Place in the Strand, where Wolsey lodged, and to show him the commission granted by the pope. The cardinal saw immediately that the document was not worth much more than the bull obtained by Knight, since the pope retained the right of pronouncing final judgment. But next morning, having weighed all the circumstances, he thought it best to conceal his disappointment. Henry and Anne were so highly elated by what they had heard from Foxe, that if the truth had been told they would have been greatly enraged. They might have suspected the sincerity of the legate; they might have thought that he was making these difficulties only in order to retard or prevent the divorce. All the ground he had gained during the last six months would thus have been lost, Anne would have been violently hostile and Henry alienated. To such a danger Wolsey dared not expose himself, and in the afternoon, when Lord Rochford and Dr. Bell came from Greenwich to confer with him, he declared himself better satisfied with the commission.[1] But he wanted a papal decretal defining the question of law in a manner favourable to Henry's claim, so that the legates would have to decide on nothing but on the question of fact. Such a decretal Gardiner was now

May 4, 1528.

A papal decretal asked for.

[1] Foxe to Gardiner, May 11, 1528, Pocock, *Records*, vol. i. No. liii.

CHAP. II.

instructed to obtain, and he was to press for the speedy departure of Campeggio.[1]

The sweating sickness.

The next six weeks Henry and Anne spent pleasantly enough at Greenwich. But in the middle of June they were rudely torn asunder by a danger they had not foreseen. The sweating sickness, a peculiar epidemic disease, very contagious and rather dangerous, had made its appearance, and on the 16th of June one of Anne's maids was taken ill with it.[2] The court broke up at once, and the king hastily went to Waltham. However much he might like the company of Anne, he feared infection even more, and she did not accompany him, but retired to Hever. Here she and her father, Lord Rochford, fell ill.[3] Henry by this time had gone to Hunsdon, six of his attendants having shown symptoms of the disease at Waltham; and from Hunsdon, he had written to Anne asking her to leave Surrey, and to come to the healthier northern side of the river. When he heard of her illness,[4] he was in great alarm, and at once despatched Doctor Butts, his physician, to look after father and daughter at Hever.[5] To Anne he wrote

[1] Foxe to Gardiner, May, 1528, Pocock, *Records*, vol. i. No. liv.

[2] Du Bellay to Montmorency, June 18, 1528, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Français, vol. 3,077, fol. 71; and *Le Grand*, vol. iii. p. 129. The abstract in Mr. Brewer's *Letters and Papers* is incorrect. Du Bellay wrote: "Une des filles de chambre, Monsgr. de Madlle. de Boulan se trouva mardi actainte de la suée."

[3] T. Henneage to Wolsey, June 23, 1528, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 1931.

[4] Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn, Crapelet, Love Letter No. iii. p. 108, and Love Letter No. xii. p. 128.

[5] Brian Tuke to Wolsey, June 23, 1528, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 1931.

entreating her to follow the doctor's advice, hoping soon to have news of her amendment.[1] His hope was realised, for a few days later he received a message that both father and daughter were out of danger.[2] Henry now left Hunsdon, frequently changing his abode until he finally settled at Tittenhanger, which Wolsey had put at his disposal.[3] Several of his courtiers died, William Carey, the husband of Anne's sister Mary, being one of them.[4] But after a time the epidemic subsided, and the king began to breathe more freely, for the danger seemed past.[5]

The Abbess of Wilton.

The sweating sickness gave occasion to an incident which was very characteristic of the kind of influence exerted by Anne over the king. The abbess of the convent of Wilton had died, and the choice of her successor lay with Cardinal Wolsey. Among the candidates was a nun, Eleanor Carey, sister of William Carey, Anne's brother-in-law.[6] She was favoured by the Boleyn family and by their friends. But Wolsey's agents reported that Eleanor had led a dissolute life, that she had several illegitimate children, and that she was most unfit to be at the head of a convent. Wolsey wished to appoint Dame Isabel Jordan, the prioress of Wilton, an aged, sad, and discreet woman, but the

April 24, 1528.

[1] Henry VIII. to Anne, Crapelet, Love Letter No. xii. p. 128.

[2] Brian Tuke to Wolsey, June 23, 1528, *loc. cit.*

[3] J. Russell to Wolsey, June 28, 1528, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 1938.

[4] T. Henneage to Wolsey, June 23, 1528, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 1,931.

[5] Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn, Crapelet, Love Letter No. xiii. p. 130.

[6] T. Henneage to Wolsey, June 23, 1528, *loc. cit.*

CHAP. II. friends of Eleanor Carey raked up an old scandal, pretending that the prioress had also in youth committed some offence against chastity, and they brought the matter before Henry. As it was impossible to deny Eleanor's guilt, the king did not wish to interfere in her favour, but he decided that the office should not be granted to her rival. This resolution was communicated to Wolsey by Dr. Bell, and to Anne by the king himself.[1]

Wolsey disregarded the indirect message of Henry. He had most probably already bound himself to nominate Isabel Jordan, and, notwithstanding Dr. Bell's letter, he signed the document appointing her.[2]

A few years before, the cardinal might have done this with impunity, for Henry at that time did not feel ashamed of the almost unlimited power he conceded to his prime minister. The ladies whom he had formerly courted had been so insignificant that they had not attempted to awaken in him a spirit of independence; they had been dazzled by the splendour of his nominal authority. Anne could not be so easily imposed upon. Henry was well aware of her penetration, and knew that she did not mistake appearance for reality. She had often spoken to him of his greatness, cleverly mixing flattery with a veiled reproof that he did not exert his power as much as he ought. Henry had made some efforts to convince her that his will was supreme; and

[1] Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn, Crapelet, Love Letter No. xiii. p. 130; and Dr. Bell to Cardinal Wolsey, July 7, 1528, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 310.

[2] Dr. Bell to Cardinal Wolsey, July 10, 1528, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 313.

she had affected to believe him, inciting him at the same time to act with even greater vigour. Now this awkward move of Wolsey came to spoil everything; if it were not immediately condemned, it would seem that the cardinal was more the sovereign than Henry himself. Anne, even if she did not taunt her lover with the disregard shown to his orders, would silently rebuke him by showing that she was vexed by what had happened; and Henry would no longer dare to brag of what he could do, since he could not even prevent the nomination of an abbess. CHAP. II.

So the king was greatly annoyed by Wolsey's conduct, and expressed himself in rather strong terms.[1] The cardinal, as soon as he heard of Henry's anger, felt that he had committed a blunder. He hastened to apologise in the most humble manner, saying that he had not known the king's will.[2] But this did not pacify Henry, because Anne might complain that he had deceived her and had taken no interest in the cause she supported. Accordingly he sent to Wolsey a lengthy and very strong reprimand, on the composition of which he apparently bestowed great pains. Before sending off the letter, he read it to Anne's friend, Thomas Henneage, and to Sir John Russell. Whether he sent a copy to Anne is uncertain; but, if not, Henneage was expected, no doubt, to give her a full account of it.[3] Quoting some words *July*, 1528.

[1] Dr. Bell to Wolsey, July 10, 1528, *loc. cit.*; and T. Henneage to Wolsey, July 11, 1528, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 315.

[2] Henry VIII. to Wolsey, Fiddes, *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, Appendix, p. 174.

[3] T. Henneage to Wolsey, July 14, 1528, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 316.

CHAP. II.

from Dr. Bell's letter, the king declared that the cardinal had been perfectly apprised of his wish, and wound up by speaking of the bad behaviour of Wolsey's officials and of the frequent bribes he received from religious communities.[1] Wolsey thereupon unreservedly admitted the truth of all that Henry had said, and humbly begged the king's pardon. This was enough: Henry was cleared before Anne; and, having shown that he was quite able to humiliate his minister, he now graciously accorded entire forgiveness.[2] Isabel Jordan remained abbess, and the matter was allowed to drop.[3]

Anne's politeness to Wolsey.

Anne herself had not actively interfered in this affair. She had continued to write amiably to the cardinal, declaring in a letter from Hever that the king and he were the two persons for whom she cared most. When, after her recovery, towards the end of July, she joined the court at Ampthill, she wrote to him again in most flattering terms, and, showing her letter to the king, insisted that he should add a postscript to it.[4] She wished it to be known that she was Wolsey's friend and using her influence in his favour. It was already probable that by the

[1] Henry VIII. to Wolsey, Fiddes, Appendix, p. 174.

[2] Henry VIII. to Wolsey, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, *Life of Henry VIII.* p. 67; and Wolsey to Henry VIII., *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 317.

[3] Isabel Jordan to Wolsey, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 1978; and Thomas Benet to Wolsey, July 18, 1528, *State Papers*, i. p. 314.

[4] Anne Boleyn to Wolsey, Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 56; and Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII. to Wolsey, *ibid.* p. 55.

force of circumstances Wolsey's power would decline, and Anne may have been unwilling to risk a battle and the loss of a useful ally, when she was pretty sure that time would rid her of her rival. Wolsey, misled by her apparent friendliness, allowed himself to drift into danger and ruin.

Anne's occasional absence from Court.

During the autumn of 1528 Anne was sometimes at court, sometimes at one or other of her father's country houses. She did not wish to be constantly with the king, as her position was still rather difficult; and there seemed to be some danger that if he saw her constantly his passion for her might cool. By remaining away for a few weeks occasionally, she kept up his ardour and made her position more easy. Moreover, Campeggio was at last on his way to England to sit as judge in the divorce cause, and it was not considered advantageous to parade Anne before the Italian legate. Campeggio might retain some feeling of decency, and object to have the real cause of Henry's conscientious scruples flaunted before his eyes. A certain degree of decorum was to be practised a little longer.

Campeggio brings the decretal.

Campeggio was bringing the decretal which Wolsey had asked for. With the law expounded in a manner favourable to the king, it seemed scarcely doubtful that the divorce would be granted. But Clement, though he had allowed himself to be bullied into this extreme concession, had maintained one point. The decretal was to remain with Campeggio; he might communicate its contents to Henry and Wolsey, but the document itself was not to pass into their possession. Campeggio had left Rome in June 1528

June, 1528.

CHAP. II.

for Orvieto to receive the decretal and the last instructions of the Pope.[1] Some galleys having been obtained from the French commanders, the cardinal embarked at Corneto on the 24th of July, crossed over to Provence, and arrived towards the end of August at Lyons.[2] On the 8th of September he was at Orleans, and on the 14th made his entry into Paris.[3] On the 18th he left Paris, pressed by the English agents to make haste, but owing to unfavourable winds and to fits of gout he did not reach London before the 8th of October.[4]

October 8, 1528.

Policy of Clement VII.

So much obloquy has been thrown on Clement VII. for his behaviour in the matter of the divorce that it is necessary to inquire whether he was guilty of all the offences laid to his charge. His policy has been compared with that of the great popes of the middle ages; but such a comparison cannot hold good, for the mediæval popes found themselves in totally different circumstances. Gregory VII. was the champion of great ideas, of reforms approved of by the vast majority of believers; and his chief adversary was a

[1] Italian News, June 13, 1528, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 1916.

[2] Instructions to Sir Francis Bryan, August, 1528, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 2024; and T. Clerk and Taylor to Wolsey, August 31, 1528, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 2031.

[3] Campeggio to Jacopo Salviati, September 16, 1528, Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum*, p. 567; and T. Clerk and Taylor to Wolsey, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 2053.

[4] T. Clerk to Wolsey, and T. Clerk to Gardiner, September 18, 1528, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. pp. 2060 and 2062; and Cardinal Campeggio to Jacopo Salviati, October 17, 1528, Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, p. 570.

wayward emperor, opposed by strong vassals and rival sovereigns. Besides, Gregory was not entirely successful. He and his immediate successors, during their struggles with the empire, laid the foundations of those powers which were to ruin their work.

Gregory VII. and his successors, in order to fight the emperor, were obliged to buy the alliance of the kings of France, England, and Spain by considerable concessions, and they thereby helped to strengthen the royal authority in those countries. In order to withstand the imperial cause in Italy, they befriended the petty princes, the lords and the towns. They aided every rebel, until the spirit of revolt spread to Rome itself; and then the popes had to take shelter in France, where they became dependent on the good will of the French kings. Meanwhile, the Italian republics and small states consolidated their power; and with political freedom and growing wealth a spirit of research and inquiry arose which led to the foundation of numerous schools. Learning ceased to be a privilege of the clergy; it could be got elsewhere than in the cloister; it took a decidedly secular turn. Lay lawyers began to be appointed to many of those places in the political world which for centuries had been held almost exclusively by clergymen. From Italy the new movement passed to the rest of western Europe, and during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries universities were founded in Germany, France, Spain, and England, and soon trained a sufficient number of scholars to fill the public offices. Kings availed themselves of these facilities to form good administrations. With the

CHAP. II.

help of the lawyers, they enlarged their own functions and curtailed those of the barons, and at the close of the fifteenth century three remarkable men—each in his own kingdom—put an end to the mediæval system of government. Louis XI. in France, Ferdinand the Catholic in Spain, and Henry VII. in England established the royal authority on so strong a basis that for a while no attempt to resist it could prove successful. The power of the barons was broken, and these three kings ruled almost directly and absolutely over all their subjects.

The increase of strength which the royal power received in France, England, and Spain was all the greater because no effective safeguard had as yet been invented against the abuse of it, and because, the malpractices of the barons being so recent and so well remembered, people loyally adhered to the crown as a means of escape from feudal tyranny. Kings who found themselves in so advantageous a position were not much inclined to allow any other power to have sway in their dominions. The independence of the Church was soon as little to their taste as the independence of the barons had been. Louis XI. renewed the Pragmatic Sanction, which had fallen into desuetude, and Francis I. concluded the Concordat, which made the clergy even more dependent on the royal will. Ferdinand firmly maintained his right to rule the Church in Sicily, to the Monarchia as it was called, and—notwithstanding papal protests—used the royal central inquisition in a way diametrically opposed to the wishes of the Roman court. When the pope fulminated censures against

him, Ferdinand threatened with death any person who should dare to publish the papal mandate; and the pope, powerless to hurt the king, had to give way. So low had the papacy sunk, so little was its authority regarded.

The rise of these great national monarchies led to the manifestation of a new spirit of patriotism. People began to feel very strongly as Frenchmen and Germans, as Englishmen and Italians. This national spirit was of course opposed to any foreign authority; and when heresiarchs in Germany and Switzerland denounced the vices, the greed, and the arrogance of Rome, they commanded immediate attention, and soon obtained the support of some of the most important German princes. The Roman Church had become so unpopular with all but Italians that the ground was ready to receive the seed.

The difficulties of the papacy were increased by the political changes which took place in Europe after the death of Ferdinand of Aragon. Up to the end of the fifteenth century several great European powers, France, Spain, the Empire, Burgundy, balanced each other, while the second-rate states, England, Hungary, Venice, Naples, occupied an independent and influential position. This balance had now been destroyed; there were but two great powers striving for absolute ascendency: the Empire and France. Of the second-rate powers, Naples had been annexed to Spain, Burgundy had been divided, the power of Venice had been broken, while Bohemia and Hungary were soon to fall to the house of Austria. In 1520 the struggle between Charles and Francis had broken

CHAP. II. out; the following year found it in full blaze; and nearly every state of western Europe took one side or the other.

Had the pope held aloof from the conflict, he would have angered both parties. Leo X., obliged to act with one of the two sovereigns, decided to act with the emperor.

The old pretensions of the pope to stand above the emperor had long been abandoned in all but outward form; there was no rivalry on this account. On the contrary, the emperor, who wanted to reconstitute the universal Christian republic, of which he was to be the secular chief, seemed the natural ally of the universal Christian Church against heretics and schismatics, against those who claimed national independence. The interests of the pope and the emperor were in so many respects almost identical that Leo's choice was inevitable.

Adrian VI. followed Leo's policy, and Clement, when he ascended the throne, was bound by treaties to assist the emperor. At first he kept his obligations tolerably well, but after a time, listening to the advice of visionary counsellors, in an evil hour for the Church, he allowed his Italian patriotism to overrule his better judgment. He began to oppose, first secretly, then openly, the policy of the emperor. Charles, at the height of his power, was not the man to forgive such resistance. The Colonna, his adherents, entered Rome and spent several days in plundering it. As this had not the desired effect of frightening the pope into submission, Bourbon led his soldiers against the Eternal City, and the result

was the sack of Rome. Clement found himself shut up a prisoner in St. Angelo, and it was only after paying a heavy ransom that he was allowed to escape to Orvieto. CHAP. II.

Here he had leisure to reflect on the difficulties of his situation. Even a stronger man than Clement might have been appalled by them. The allegiance of the emperor to the Church seemed well nigh lost. His German and Spanish soldiers had acted outrageously in Rome; and neither the German nor the Spanish clergy had shown themselves greatly shocked by the insult offered to the Holy See, while the people of Charles's dominions received the news with pleasure rather than with pain.

Charles—it must be remembered—had been brought up by his grandfather Maximilian, and had been imbued by him with very fantastic and exaggerated notions about the imperial dignity and power. It was not impossible that he might do as some of his predecessors on the imperial throne had done: call a Council, and with its assistance depose the pope. Clement knew that to withstand such an assertion of imperial authority he would have to rely on the help of Francis I., Henry VIII., and the princes of the Italian League. But the devotion of the kings of France and England to the Holy See was less ardent than he could have wished. The French clergy adopted a very independent tone, Francis jealously guarded his new privileges, and politically he did very little for the pope. Henry VIII., indeed, had for years shown himself a zealous champion of the Holy See; but he had done so only on the tacit understanding

CHAP. II. that the whole government of the Church in his states was to be left to him and his ministers, the Holy See simply enjoying a few revenues.

Clement could not but fear that if he threw himself entirely on the alliance with Francis and Henry, he would lose his independence. He foresaw that they would wring from him every possible concession, and that he would soon be regarded as their tool. Such a position he would not accept; he preferred to attempt to regain his power even at the cost of great inconvenience, labour, and danger to himself.

The policy which Clement now adopted was entirely suited to his temper and abilities. He resolved to forgive past offences, and to come to terms with Charles, but at the same time secretly to throw as many difficulties as possible in his way. For Charles V. in difficulties might prove a more obedient son of the Church than Charles V. triumphant; if the emperor were hard pressed by his enemies, he would probably set a higher value on the friendship and favour of the Holy See. The pope might then become the mediator and umpire between the contending parties, and re-establish much of his lost authority.

The steps taken by Henry in the matter of the divorce seemed most convenient for Clement's purpose, for Charles could not but be anxious to obtain the assistance of the pope in favour of his aunt. Like other people, Clement thought that the passion of Henry for Anne Boleyn would not last, and that after a time he would either abandon his demand

for a divorce or acquiesce in a sentence declaring the validity of his marriage. Clement supposed, therefore, that at first, without committing himself too far, he might safely show some favour to Henry's views.

In consequence of this policy the breach between the empire and the papacy was well nigh healed; but unhappily the English business became more difficult than had been expected. Henry did not give up his purpose; Wolsey, instead of acting as the pope expected his legate to act, entirely sided with the king; and both insisted on the mission of Campeggio with exorbitant powers to the legates. These powers Clement was very loath to grant, for he dreaded the revival of Charles's hostility. On the other hand, he was afraid to exasperate Henry, or to anger his mighty patron the king of France. Threats of open rebellion against his authority filled him with alarm; he dared not face such a danger. As long as he was not quite certain of the lasting allegiance of Charles, he saw that it would be folly to come to an open rupture with the party united against the emperor. He could not run the risk of losing the obedience of both.

Clement did all he could to gain time and to evade an absolutely binding act. He invented every kind of excuse for delay, hoping that in the interval he might make quite sure of Charles, draw Francis away from Henry, and persuade the latter to abandon his design. The first two of these objects he attained; in the third he failed, because he was hampered by perplexities which rendered success impossible.

In the treatment of Henry's claim Clement could never strike out the bold and honest line which Bishop

CHAP. II. Fisher, John Clerk, Bishop of Bath, and some of the Lutheran divines adopted. Clerk had the courage to declare that the passage in Leviticus does not refer to the widow of a late but to the wife of a living brother, that it does not relate to a marriage but only emphasises the prohibition against adultery in a case where it seems particularly shocking, that the prohibition of canon law is consequently not based upon the passage and can derive no authority from the Bible. Fisher agreed with Clerk;[1] but this the pope could not do.

The revolt of the Lutherans had in part been caused by the system of clerical exactions, many innocent acts having been declared sinful in order that the clergy might obtain money and influence by granting dispensations or giving absolution. Lutherans assailed the canon law as a fabric which had been reared independently of the Bible, while Catholic divines tried to prove that the teaching of the Bible formed the basis of the whole structure. In a case of dispensation, therefore, the pope could not speak out as freely as he would have liked; he could not, by admitting that one part of the canon law differed from the Bible, endanger every other part of it, and thereby furnish new weapons to the heretics. He was a Roman priest, the chief of the Roman clergy, and as such he could not make any concession that might imperil the supremacy of Rome.

Embarrassed by these difficulties, Clement lied and shuffled a good deal; he did not stand up

[1] Examination of John Fisher, Record Office, Henry VIII., Box Q, 155.

boldly for that which he thought to be right. But he was influenced much more by regard for the welfare of the Church of which he was the head than by fear for his personal safety or by apprehension of another sack of Rome. And in one respect he was successful. Though the north of Germany was lost to Rome, though England was alienated, Clement contrived to retain the allegiance both of the emperor and of the king of France. By sacrificing a part of the dominion of the Church he saved the rest and consolidated its power.

CHAPTER III.

THE DEATH OF WOLSEY.

Campeggio's Mission. June, 1528.

WHEN Cardinal Campeggio took leave of the pope at Orvieto, Henry seemed to have a fairly good prospect of success. Charles V. had not yet been reconciled to the Holy See, the pope was still excluded from his capital, and three of the cardinals remained as hostages at Naples. Nevertheless, true to his purpose, Clement instructed Campeggio to act with the greatest caution. Henry and Charles being at enmity, it was now the principal object of the pope to avoid being drawn into the strife. Campeggio, therefore, was first to try to reason Henry out of his purpose, and if this failed he was to ask the queen to give up her rights by entering a convent, in which case the pope was prepared to dispense for bigamy. If the queen would not give way, he was to delay as much as possible the opening of the court.[1]

Success of Charles V. in Italy.

While Campeggio was on his way, a great change passed over the political situation in Italy. An army raised by authority of the empire had entered

[1] Cardinal Campeggio to Jacopo Salviati, June 21, 1529, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. dclxx.; and Giovanni da Casale to Wolsey, December 17, 1528, Burnet, *Collectanea*, part ii. book ii. No. xvii.

Lombardy for the purpose of defending it against the inroads of the French. Though the commander, the Duke of Brunswick, did not act in concert with Antonio de Leyva, Charles's general, the latter was enabled by the presence of the German force to prevent the Count of Saint Pol from marching to Naples. The army which under Lautrec had invaded Naples and laid siege to the capital, was thus placed in a bad position, which was rendered still worse when Andrea Doria, angered by some slight put upon him by the French, went over with his galleys to the emperor. The French army suffered greatly from heat and privations; large numbers, among them Lautrec himself, died of disease; the remnant, cut off from their line of retreat, were made prisoners by the very men whom they had just besieged.

CHAP. III.

May, 1528.

July 19, 1528.

August 28, 1528.

Charles V. and the Holy See.

Although success once more attended Charles's armies, his behaviour towards the Holy See remained as conciliatory as it had been during the time when his prospects seemed darkest. He continued to carry on negotiations with the pope, the imperial agents being instructed to make moderate demands. Moreover, the emperor and his brother Ferdinand began to support the Holy See more energetically in Germany; they opposed the clamour for a national council, which might have led to the overthrow of the papal power in the whole kingdom. Charles's policy presented a striking contrast to that of Francis and Henry. The French during their short period of success had never done anything in favour of the pope. They had attempted to conquer Naples for their king, but they had not

CHAP. III. thought fit either to drive the Imperialists out of the papal fortresses or to restore those papal towns their allies had occupied. Henry's agents had threatened the pope with open rebellion, and both French and English were constantly pressing him to accept a guard of soldiers, which, as Clement knew, would be a band of disguised gaolers. The pope therefore wished more than ever to secure the friendship of the emperor, and sent message after message to warn Campeggio not to take any definite step.[1]

Campeggio in England. *October 23, 1528.*

The legate on his arrival—acting according to his instructions—tried first of all to dissuade Henry from his purpose. His representations, however, were met with long theological arguments; Henry was proud to show his learning, and would not listen to the counsels of Campeggio. An attempt to shake the queen's fortitude having equally failed, the cardinal had to follow the third course—to procrastinate and to hold back as much as possible.[2]

The Decretal.

This was taken very ill by the king. Campeggio showed the decretal to Henry and Wolsey, as he had been directed to do, but he refused to part with it or even to communicate its contents to the royal council. A document which was to remain secret was of little use; the pope might not, after all, consider himself bound by it. To obtain possession of the decretal became, therefore, one of the chief aims of the royal policy. A messenger was sent in hot haste

[1] G. B. Sanga to Cardinal Campeggio, September 2 and 16, 1528, Porcacchi, *Lettere di XIII. huomini illustri*, pp. 39 and 41.

[2] Cardinal Campeggio to G. B. Sanga, October 17, 1528, Laemmer, *Monumenta Vaticana*, No. xxii.

to Sir Gregory Casale, Henry's agent with the pope, with orders that he should insist on the decretal being handed to Wolsey, that it might be shown to a few members of the council.[1] If this had been done, of course the decretal would not have been returned to Campeggio as Henry promised; it would have been carefully kept as a weapon against the vacillations of Clement. CHAP. III.

Sir Gregory received Henry's orders at Bologna. *November, 1528.* Being ill, he sent his brother, John Casale, to the pope to present the royal request. Clement at once detected the trap laid for him, and was greatly angered by the demand. He refused, saying he would give one of his fingers not to have signed the decretal: Campeggio ought to have burnt it as soon as it had been shown to Henry and Wolsey.[2] A few days later Sir Gregory himself, having recovered, went to Rome, but he also was unable to shake the pope's resolution. Sir Gregory thereupon sent his brother Vincent to England to give an account of the whole case to the king, while the pope despatched his most confidential secretary, Francesco Campana, nominally to explain to Henry why his request could not be complied with, in reality to tell Campeggio to destroy the dangerous document without delay.[3] *December 15, 1528.*

[1] Wolsey to Gregorio da Casale, November 1, 1528, *State Papers*, vii. p. 102.

[2] Giovanni da Casale to Wolsey, December 17, 1528, Burnet, *Collectanea*, part i. book ii. No. xviii.

[3] F. Bryan and P. Vanni to Wolsey, December 28, 1528, British Museum, Cotton MSS. Vitellius, b. x. 186; and Cardinal Campeggio to Jacopo Salviati, June 21, 1529, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. dclxx.

CHAP. III.

Causes of Delay.

Before Campana reached London a new incident occurred. A brief had been found in Spain, addressed by Julius II. to Henry and Catherine, different from the bull of dispensation for their marriage and remedying in a way its pretended defect. A certified copy was now produced in England before the two legates.[1] Henry at once asserted that the brief must be a forgery, but Campeggio was not so easily persuaded. That Henry did not believe the document to be a forgery is amply shown by the attempts he made to obtain possession of it. Charles refused to give it up, Clement declined to declare it a forgery without seeing it, and the brief had to be considered genuine.[2]

November, 1528.

April, 1529.

The cause was retarded by another circumstance. After the complete overthrow of the French army in Naples, the pope had returned to Rome. Here he had several attacks of rheumatic fever, one of which was so severe that he was reported to be dead, and the rumour reached London. By Clement's death the powers conferred on Wolsey and Campeggio would have terminated; no progress was made with the cause,

[1] Julius II. to "Dilecto filio Heinrico Char^mi in Chro filii nri Henrici Anglie Regis Ill^i nato Ill^e et dilecte in Chro filie Catherine Char^mi et in Chr^o filii nri Ferdinandi Regis et Char^me in chr^o filie nre Elizabeth Regine Hispaniarum et Sicilie Catholicorum Nate Ill^e," December 26, 1503, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, iv. No. 1; and Don Iñigo de Mendoza to Charles V., November 18, 1528, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. No. 15.

[2] P. Vanni to Henry VIII., March 28, 1529, *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 154; and G. B. Sanga to Cardinal Campeggio, April 10, 1529, Porcacchi, *Lettere di XIII. huomini illustri*, p. 63. As to the authenticity of the brief see Note C. in the Appendix.

therefore, until it was known that the pope had recovered. All the ingenuity of Campeggio could then serve no longer, he was at last obliged to open the legatine court. But another disagreeable incident happened which Henry and Wolsey had not foreseen. The draft of the papal commission kept at the British Museum is addressed to Wolsey and Campeggio;[1] and as the English cardinal was of older creation than his Italian colleague it was natural that it should be so addressed. It appears, however, from the minute of the proceedings that the address was changed. Campeggio and Wolsey being commissioned, the former insisted on presiding,[2] and he was thereby enabled to procrastinate even more until he should hear from the pope.

Proceedings of the Legatine Court.

The proceedings of the court are well known. The first sitting was held on the 18th of June at Blackfriars. At the second sitting, on the 21st, Catherine objected to Wolsey as a judge and to England as the place of trial, and declared that she had appealed to the pope. Campeggio, hard pressed by Henry and Wolsey, dared not accept Catherine's protest, and the proceedings went on; but before judgment could be given, on the 23rd of July, he prorogued the court under the pretext that this was the time of vacation at Rome.[3]

July 23, 1529.

Anne watched closely the course of events during

[1] Commission of June 8, 1528, Cotton MSS. Vitellius, B. x. 97, and Pocock, *Records*, vol. i. p. 167.

[2] Procedure in Divorce Court, June 21, 1529, Pocock, *Records*, vol. i. p. 223.

[3] Procedure in Divorce Court, Pocock, *Records*, vol. i. pp. 206—211, and 216—231.

CHAP. III.

Anne distrusts Campeggio.

these eventful days. It is clear from one of Henry's letters to her that, better informed than the king, she distrusted Campeggio even before he reached the English shore.[1] When the legate, shortly after his arrival, showed that he was no obedient tool of the king, her suspicions increased. By-and-by, especially after she received reports of the pope's change of attitude, she became convinced that there was but little probability of a favourable verdict being given by Campeggio. This she ascribed in part to secret machinations of Wolsey—who was supposed to disapprove of the claim for divorce—in part to the influence of the imperial party at Rome. She felt that if her cause was to triumph she would henceforward have to rely on her own efforts, as the means Wolsey had proposed and to which he still tenaciously clung were inadequate. But since the autumn of 1527 she had gained considerable experience, and had been able to attach a good many men to her fortunes, foremost of all the energetic and able secretary of Wolsey, Dr. Stephen Gardiner. The cardinal was left with scarcely a friend, exposed to the malice of his enemies, who were made bolder every day by the prospect of his disgrace.[2]

Stephen Gardiner.

June 22, 1529.

Gardiner, who in January had been sent a second time to Rome to assist the English ministers there, returned to England on the 22nd of June.[3] He had

[1] Crapelet, Henry to Anne Boleyn, Love Letter No. xvii. p. 140.

[2] Jean du Bellay to Anne de Montmorency, September 18, 1529, Legrand, vol. iii. fol. 354, &c.

[3] Cardinal Campeggio to J. Salviati, June 24, 1529, Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, p. 584.

now a chief share of Henry's favour. A week after the prorogation of the legatine court, when the news was received that on the 13th of July the pope, contrary to a secret promise made in July, 1528, had revoked the commission to the legates and decided that the cause should be tried at Rome, Gardiner was made chief secretary to the king.[1] Both Henry and Anne thought they had found in him a man who might be advantageously substituted for Wolsey; and from this moment the king no longer cared for his former favourite and prime minister. Anne, Gardiner, her adherents, and those peers who were not personally favourable to Catherine, formed an alliance to bring down the cardinal. Articles were framed against him, and everybody expected to see his early ruin.

July 13, 1529.

July 28, 1529.

Wolsey in danger.

Contrary to the general anticipation, a short respite was granted to the unhappy victim. His enemies, indeed, prevented him from regaining his influence by the exercise of the power he knew so well how to use in personal intercourse with the king. Henry, attended by Anne and Gardiner, went hunting about the country, and Wolsey's requests to be allowed to repair to the royal presence were evaded or refused. But outwardly his position was unchanged, and no open attack upon it was allowed.

Wolsey's doom was postponed because it was still hoped that by his means the divorce might be secured. Cardinal Campeggio, after having received due notice

[1] Miçer May to Charles V., August 4, 1529, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,579, fol. 20; and Gardiner to Vanni, July 28, 1529, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 2591.

CHAP. III. that his powers had been revoked, prepared to return
September 19, 1529. to Rome. On the 19th of September he presented himself at Grafton to take leave of the king. With some difficulty Wolsey had obtained permission to accompany his colleague, and to the astonishment of the courtiers Henry received both in the most gracious manner. He had a long conversation with Wolsey, treating him with the greatest kindness. On the following morning, however, the king went out early to hunt, and Wolsey saw him no more, but had to return with Campeggio to London.[1] On the 5th of October the Italian cardinal left and proceeded by
October 8, 1529. slow journeys to Dover, which he reached on the 8th.[2]
Campeggio's luggage searched. Here the royal officers of the custom-house seized his luggage, and, notwithstanding his passport and his quality of legate, broke open the chests and subjected everything to a minute search.[3]

This was not an act of mere stupid insolence, nor did the king intend simply to punish Campeggio for his disinclination to proceed with the case. The incident was a part of a well pondered plan. Henry and Anne thought that the famous decretal might still be in Campeggio's possession, and that on strict search

[1] Thomas Alward to Thomas Cromwell, September 23, 1529, British Museum, Cotton MSS. Vitellius, B. xii. 173, printed by Ellis, first series, i. 307.

[2] Cardinal Campeggio to Jacopo Salviati, October 7, 1529, Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, p. 587.

[3] Henry VIII. to Cardinal Campeggio, October 22, 1529, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 2677; and E. Chapuis to Charles V., October 25, 1529, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. No. 23, printed by Bradford, *Correspondence of Charles V.* Carlo Sigonio, in his Life of Cardinal Campeggio, gives a highly coloured account of this affair, but adduces no authority.

it might be discovered among his luggage. Had this been the case, Campeggio would have been allowed —if necessary, even obliged—to depart; Wolsey would have received orders to reopen the legatine court; and as the commission gave power to the legates together, or to either of them separately, the cardinal would not have dared to disobey. Any protests of Catherine would have been met by producing the decretal and the pope's written promise not to revoke the powers of the legates. Wolsey would have proceeded to give judgment in favour of Henry, and the trick would have been successfully played. Such, from all the circumstances, seems to have been the plan of Henry and his advisers; but it was frustrated, for the decretal had been destroyed after the arrival of Campana in January. York herald, who had accompanied Campeggio, rode post haste to London with the woful tidings that the document could not be found.[1] This sealed Wolsey's doom; there was no longer any reason for sparing him. The same day on which the news was received Christopher Hales, the king's attorney, preferred a bill against him for præmunire; shortly afterwards, on the 17th of October, he was deprived of the seals; and his committal to the Tower was daily expected.[2]

CHAP. III.

October 9, 1529.

October 17, 1529.

For a moment Wolsey lost courage, and sat weeping

[1] Accounts of Bryan Tuke, Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. v. p. 315.

[2] Bill of Indictment, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 2686; Memorandum of the Surrender of the Great Seal, Rymer, *Fœdera*, xiv. p. 349; and G. Cavendish, *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, p. 251.

CHAP. III.

and lamenting his misfortunes. He probably overrated the danger to which he was exposed; for Henry, who had not yet made up his mind to come to an open rupture with Rome, and who hoped still to induce Charles V. and Clement to accede to his requests, would scarcely have dared to lay hands on a cardinal. Nor would he have embittered the strife by pushing on a prosecution for præmunire for the exercise of legatine powers in England. But Wolsey dreaded the worst, and tried to save himself by complete submission. He acknowledged that he had been guilty of an offence which he had never committed, and sought to conciliate his most powerful enemies by heavy bribes; granting pensions on the bishopric of Winchester to Norfolk, George Boleyn, and the friends of Anne,[1] and giving up to the king all his movable property, all pensions or money due to him, and the palace of York Place at Westminster belonging to the archbishopric.[2] Thoroughly humbled and stripped of his wealth, he was allowed to retire to Esher to spend the winter without further molestation.[3]

October 22, 1529.

A new government formed.

Immediately after the disgrace of the cardinal, his enemies set themselves to form a new government. There was some rivalry about the first place. The Duke of Suffolk had been foremost in the attack

[1] Grant to G. Boleyn, R.O., Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 2730; and Wolsey to Cromwell, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 355, &c.

[2] Indenture, October 22, 1529, R.O., Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 2678.

[3] Letters of Protection, November 18, 1529, Rymer, *Fœdera*, xiv. 351.

and claimed his reward, but the Duke of Norfolk was the abler statesman and was the uncle of Anne. This latter consideration seems to have been decisive. Norfolk was made president and Suffolk vice-president of the council. The chancellorship was thus stripped of much of its importance and splendour, and if Anne had had her way, it would have been granted to Gardiner.. But Gardiner himself was not over anxious to be appointed to so difficult and dangerous an office. A bishopric seeming much more convenient, he preferred a promise of promotion to the see of Winchester, which was about to become vacant by the renunciation of Wolsey. The seals were given to a man less thoroughgoing and able in politics, but whose literary fame, high character for probity, and great breadth of view promised to shed a lustre on the cabinet—to Sir Thomas More. Sir William Fitzwilliam, the treasurer of the household, received in addition to his office that of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. Cuthbert Tunstall was allowed to hold for a few months more the post of keeper of the privy seal. After this he accepted the see of Durham, giving up the bishopric of London to Dr. John Stokesley, an ardent advocate of the divorce, and making over the privy seal to Anne's father. CHAP. III. *March* 25, 1530.

The new government was eminently aristocratic, with a strong leaning towards France. Norfolk, Suffolk, Boleyn, Fitzwilliam, and More were all in receipt of pensions from Francis.[1] But as yet they

[1] Pensions payées en Angleterre, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Français, vol. 2997, fol. 54.

CHAP. III.

were not quite agreed as to the policy to be adopted; they had arrived at power without a clear programme, the chief bond of union between them being their common hatred of the cardinal.

The first thing to be done was to provide for the meeting of parliament. Shortly after the prorogation of the legatine court, writs had been issued for the election of members to serve in a new parliament to assemble on the 3rd of November. But the control of the elections was taken from Wolsey and confided to the Duke of Norfolk and his allies, who of course were most careful to nominate only such members as were likely to favour the intended change of policy.[1]

In the time of Henry VIII. the House of Commons was not really an elective body. The sheriff generally received with the writ a letter mentioning the names of the persons whom the king wished to be elected as knights and burgesses. In a few boroughs the responsibility of making arrangements for the elections was nominally entrusted to the bishop or to some of the lords, but this was a mere matter of form, for in each case the patron was informed of the royal wish and had to see that it was fulfilled.

When the sheriff received the writ, he communicated the contents of the accompanying letter to the gentry or citizens, and called together as many electors as he thought fit. Either there were no electoral lists, or they were little regarded. Electors living at a distance often did not know when the

[1] Gardiner to Wolsey, R.O., Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 2668.

nomination was to take place, and those who appeared were generally men who could be trusted to vote as they were directed. If anybody was bold enough to oppose the royal candidates, his opposition was rarely if ever of any avail. A show of hands decided against him. And it was not quite safe to contest a seat against the king's nominee or to vote for any one who ventured to do so. This was considered a clear proof of wilfulness, a most heinous offence under the Tudors, and a man guilty of so grave an indiscretion was soon denounced at headquarters, and generally received a letter of appearance, that is to say, an order to present himself before the royal council. By the council he was soundly rated for his presumption, and if he did not at once make humble submission, he had to appear again. If after several such appearances he remained stubborn, he might find himself as a seditious and lewd person committed to Newgate or the Marshalsea, there to meditate on the duties of a good subject. Thus the members of the House of Commons were about as freely elected as the bishops; the writ and the letter setting forth the king's wish formed together a *congé d'élire*.

And even if, by some mischance, independent candidates were returned, this did not mean that they were allowed to take their seats. In the spring of 1536, the sheriff of Canterbury received the royal writ, but inadvertently the letter of Secretary Cromwell was not handed to him. He immediately called together about seventy substantial men, who elected two representatives. Scarcely had the new members been declared duly elected, when Cromwell's letter

May 12, 1536.

37198

CHAP. III.

arrived. The sheriff wrote to the secretary exculpating himself and regretting that the king's wish could not be fulfilled;[1] but he was soon undeceived. The reply of Cromwell we do not possess, but the result of it was that a week later the mayor and sheriff summoned eighty or more good and substantial men, and that they elected the two royal candidates without a single dissentient voice.[2]

May 19, 1536.

November 3, 1529.

A parliament thus chosen met on the 3rd of November. The interval between the dismissal of Wolsey and the opening of the session had been employed by Henry and Anne in viewing the rich spoil they had obtained. They went down to Greenwich and then secretly to York Place, where the magnificent furniture and the plate were exhibited to them.[3] Anne was highly pleased with all she saw, and decided that this should be the future town residence of the king, one great advantage of it being that there was no apartment for Catherine. Necessary changes in the building were to be begun at once, neighbouring houses were to be pulled down to provide space for a garden, York Place was to become Whitehall.[4]

Anne and Henry at York Place.

The new policy.

Shortly afterwards the king returned to his new dwelling to be present at the opening of parliament.

[1] John Hobbys, sheriff of Canterbury, to Cromwell, May 12, 1536, R.O., *Cromwell Correspondence*, vol. v. fol. 108.

[2] The mayor and sheriff of Canterbury to Cromwell, May 20, 1536, R.O., *Cromwell Correspondence*, vol. v. fol. 102.

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., October 25, 1529, Vienna Archives, P.C. 225, i. No. 23.

[4] E. Chapuis to Charles V., February 6, 1530, and May 14, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 24 and 227, i. fol. 43.

Sir Thomas More read to the two houses a long speech in which the cardinal was not spared and in which a new and better policy was promised.[1] One of the first proofs of this better policy was the passing of a bill by which the king was released from all debts he had contracted towards his subjects, on the whole a sum of nearly £150,000, of which his creditors were thus cheated.[2] After this, little was done during the session, except that a great many complaints were made against the rapacity and insolence of the clergy.[3] As these complaints could scarcely have been made without the consent of ministers, they showed the real inclinations and tendencies of the cabinet.

Favour shown to Anne and her family.

If little was done as far as politics were concerned, a good deal was done to promote the interest of Anne and her family. First her brother, George Boleyn, a very young and totally untried man, was placed at the head of an embassy to France;[4] and Lord Rochford, while his son was employed on this honourable and lucrative errand, was raised in dignity. On the 8th of December he was created Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, and his daughter became Lady Anne[5]—strange to say, Lady Anne Rochford, not Lady Anne Boleyn: for what

The Earl of Wiltshire.

December 8, 1529.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., November 8, 1529, Vienna Archives, P.C. 225, i. No. 24.

[2] *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. iii. p. 315.

[3] Grievances charged by the Commons upon the Spiritualty, Hall, *Union of the Houses of York and Lancaster*, p. 765.

[4] Instructions to G. Boleyn and Dr. Stokesley, *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 219.

[5] Patent, December 8, 1529, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 2718.

CHAP. III. reason I do not know, except, perhaps, that Bullen, the mercer, was still too well remembered.

December 9, 1529. To mark the favour shown to Anne, a great banquet was given by the king on the day after the ceremony, Anne occupying Catherine's place, above the Duchesses of Suffolk and Norfolk and other ladies of high rank. The banquet was followed by a ball, and by such feasts and rejoicings that nothing, says Chapuis, seemed wanting but the priest to make the lovers exchange their rings. There was no longer the slightest restraint: everybody understood that Anne was to be the queen.[1]

Anne's friends and enemies. As to the means by which her exaltation was to be brought about there was some difference of opinion. Suffolk was by no means ardent in Anne's cause, for he considered himself ill-treated, the arrogance of the Boleyns annoyed him, and he could not gain anything by the divorce. The peers generally took the same view: the cardinal having been ousted from office, and the officials thoroughly humbled, they wanted no more. Nor were the officials much more eager, for the game was a hazardous one. Of those who sat in the royal council More and Tunstall were secretly hostile, Gardiner was beginning to cool down; even Anne's uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, occasionally showed himself lukewarm, while the duchess, with whom he was still on tolerable terms, supported Catherine. Only Anne's father could be thoroughly trusted, and he was about to leave England for a considerable time.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., December 13, 1529, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 81.

CHAP. III.

During the spring of 1529 the reconciliation between Charles V. and the Holy See had been made complete, a treaty having been concluded at Barcelona on the 29th of June. Charles had thereupon decided to visit the pope in Italy. The meeting took place at Bologna; and on the 29th of February, 1530, Charles was crowned emperor. Afterwards the two chiefs of Christendom remained together for some time in order to discuss the many grave matters by which the western world was troubled; and Henry seized the occasion to send an embassy to Charles and Clement to reason them out of their opposition to the divorce.

Mission of Lord Wiltshire to Charles V.

February 29, 1530.

At first it had been intended to entrust the Duke of Norfolk with this mission, but as he had no wish to be blamed for a failure he knew to be inevitable, he prayed to be excused. He did not speak French well enough, he said, the Earl of Wiltshire would be a better ambassador.[1] The earl may also have felt reluctance to go on a bootless errand, and to travel among robbers and soldiers; but, if so, his objections were overcome by the prayers of his daughter and by the prospect of an extraordinarily high salary.[2] He was to be accompanied by Dr. Edward Lee, by Dr. Stokesley, who was already in France collecting opinions in favour of the divorce, by Dr. Thomas Cranmer, who had been his chaplain, and by Dr. Edward Karne. He left on the 21st of January, 1530, with a large retinue, was joined by

January 21, 1530.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 13, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 4.

[2] Bryan Tuke's Accounts, January 20, 1530, Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. v. p. 317.

CHAP. III. Stokesley, and proceeded by slow stages towards Italy.[1] At Roanne, learning that the emperor was going to leave Bologna, he took post horses, and, abandoning his retinue, rode forward in hot haste. But he was not equal to the exertion: at Lyons he was so tired that he had to stop; his train rejoined him, and the whole company proceeded to Bologna together.[2]

Wiltshire's failure. *March* 15, 1530. The earl arrived at Bologna on the 14th of March. The following day he had an audience of the emperor, but it was merely formal, and he had to wait a few days before finding an opportunity of explaining his errand. He began by asking whether the emperor would permit him and his colleagues to argue the matter of the divorce before the cardinals, and whether, if the English could convince the consistory, Charles would cease to resist the king's wishes. The emperor at once interrupted him by a very pertinent question: "Will your king, on his part, bind himself to desist from the divorce if the cardinals are not convinced by you?" The earl could but reply that he had no power to give this pledge. "Then," said Charles, "I shall not promise anything either; the matter must take its regular course before the proper tribunal." The earl now began to recite his commission, a long theological treatise, and Charles leant back in his chair while the tedious lecture proceeded. When it was ended, he calmly repeated that the matter was to take

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 25, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 7.

[2] J. du Bellay to Montmorency, February 20, 1530, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. 3080, fol. 90.

its regular course at Rome, and that he would not hear any further argument.[1] All attempts to shake his resolution proved fruitless; the most tempting bribes were rejected with scorn. CHAP. III.

A few days later the emperor left, but before his departure the imperial ministers played a most annoying trick on the earl. Simonetta, auditor of the tribunal of the Rota, had issued a citation calling on Henry to appear in person or by proxy before him at the tribunal in Rome. Copies of this act had been sent to England, but no usher had been bold enough to serve it on the king; and the cause had been thereby delayed, much to the annoyance of the Imperialists. Wiltshire, as duly accredited ambassador, represented the person of the king, and to serve the writ on him would be sufficient for the proceedings; accordingly an usher presented himself at his lodgings and exhibited the citation. Wiltshire protested, and his colleagues and his servants would fain have knocked down the usher, but behind him stood the threatening forms of Charles's Spanish soldiers and bravi. The writ was served. As long as Charles and his guards remained at Bologna, Wiltshire dared not even remonstrate; but on the day after the emperor's departure he went to the pope and bitterly complained of the indignity offered to him. He entreated the Holy Father, if not to recall the citation, at least to grant a delay, promising, on the part of the king, that in the interval no further steps should be taken in England. Clement,

March 22, 1530.

March 23 1530.

[1] Charles V. to Eustache Chapuis, March 25, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, ii. fol. 50.

CHAP. III. having sent a message to Charles, granted a delay of six weeks, and this was all the earl could obtain.[1] Shortly afterwards the pope left Bologna, and Wiltshire took his way by Milan and Turin to France.

When Henry heard of the failure of Wiltshire's mission he was extremely angry, and laid the whole blame on the ambassador's incapacity and want of energy. In those with whom he had hitherto had to deal, Henry had generally observed only abject cringing or coarse egotism; either people had bowed to his caprice, or they had resisted him because it was their interest to do so. Himself destitute of generous sentiments, and having scarcely ever seen any evidence of them in others, he was unable to understand them or even to believe seriously in their existence. Here he met with an opposition which was wholly disinterested; the offers of friendship, of money and military help, which the earl had been commissioned to make to Charles V., had been treated with the same contempt as the hints thrown out that Henry might be driven by the emperor's obstinacy to enter into closer alliance with the French. This, Henry thought, could have been due only to the manner in which his wishes had been represented to Charles. He was angry and annoyed, and regretted that the ability of

[1] Charles V. to Chapuis, March 25, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, ii. fol. 55: "Disant le comte de Wilschire que combien quil neu procuration speciale pour assehurer que le dict Roy son maistre ne innoveroit rien de son couste cependant par voie de fait ny autrement que touteffois il avoit bien tel credit de son dict maistre quil sen vouloit bien faire fort . . ."

which Wolsey had given him so many proofs was no longer at his command.[1] CHAP. III.

Wolsey pardoned.

The cardinal, having thrown himself on the king's mercy, had received royal letters of protection, by which all proceedings against him had been stayed; and his friends had begun once more to rally round him. Soon after Christmas an attempt was made to obtain for him an interview with the king.[2] He fell ill, and his physician asked for a consultation with Dr. Butt, the king's physician.[3] This request was complied with; and Butt, a secret friend, reported to Henry that the cardinal's life was in danger, that the chief cause of his malady was anxiety and grief for the royal displeasure, and that if he continued in the same state of mind he would shortly be dead. Henry, so Cavendish relates, exclaimed that he would not lose the cardinal for £20,000. He sent Wolsey a token of his favour, asking Anne to do the same, and she willingly assented, since, by showing herself more relenting towards the fallen minister, she hoped to be all the better able to counteract his schemes.[4]

January, 1530.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., May 10 and July 11, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fols. 50 and 59; J. J. de Vaulx to Francis I., April 2 and 4, 1530, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. vol. 3019, fol. 126.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., February 6, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 24.

[3] Dr. Agostino to Cromwell, January 19, 1530, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 2747.

[4] E. Chapuis to Charles V., February 6, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 24: "Sire un cousin du medecin du Cardinal ma dit que la dame lavoyt envoye visiter durant sa maladie et se presenter de luy estre favorable vers le Roy quest chose dure a croyre attendu ce que dessus et linimitie quelle

CHAP. III.

Doctor Butt returned to Esher to deliver the messages with which he had been charged, and to convey a promise that Wolsey's pardon should be made out.[1] Though the main object of the intrigue had not been attained, something, at least, had been secured; the pardon was sealed on the 12th of February, and, on the 14th, the temporalities of York were returned to the cardinal, as well as £6,374 in money, plate, and other movables.[2] He was, moreover, allowed to leave Esher, the air of which did not agree with him, and to retire to Richmond Lodge.

February 12, 1530.

Wolsey's pensions.

If Henry really exclaimed that he would not lose the cardinal for £20,000, he spoke in a very matter-of-fact way of an intrigue he was carrying on. Like all spendthrifts, he was always in want of money, and his greed overruled nearly every other consideration. Wolsey had in his first fright ceded to the king not only all his movable property, but all sums due to him as debts and as pensions, and had offered to aid Henry in realising these assets. The pensions from Spain, and the arrears thereof, there was little hope of obtaining, for even when the cardinal was in power they had been most irregularly paid. But it was possible that the French debt and pensions might be realised, and they were so considerable as to tempt the cupidity of the king.

August, 1525.

When in 1525 Wolsey had negotiated the peace

luy a toujours porte, ce nestoit ou quelle pensast quil dehust mourir ou quelle heu voulu monstrer sa dissimulacion et affayterie de quoy au dire du commung elle est bonne ouvriere."

[1] G. Cavendish, *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, p. 287.

[2] Rymer, *Fœdera*, xiv. pp. 366 and 374.

with France which was signed at the More, he had not forgotten his personal interests. He had asked that 100,000 crowns should be given to him, and that the arrears of pension, which had been stopped during the war, should be paid with the coming instalments. These requests had been granted, and an obligation for the whole sum of 123,885 crowns, equal to about £27,000, had been made out. He was to receive from that time half-yearly 12,500 crowns, of which 4,000 crowns were to be his regular pension, and 8,500 crowns an instalment of the arrears. Had all the eight payments from November 1525 to May 1529 been made, the debt would have been reduced to 55,885 crowns. But since 1527 no payments had been made, and Wolsey, already insecure in his position, had not dared to press for them, but had tried to conciliate Francis by allowing him to employ the money in the prosecution of the war and for the ransoming of his children. It was uncertain whether the claim to the 37,500 crowns thus expended by Francis had been entirely abandoned, as the French pretended, or only postponed, as the English maintained. If the latter view was correct, the sum still due to Wolsey was about 93,000 crowns, that is to say, a little more than the £20,000 at which Henry had rated his life. Besides, the November instalment of the pension was already due, and another would be due in May.[1] CHAP. III.

All these sums Wolsey had made over to the king, but it was doubtful whether under the altered circumstances

[1] J. J. de Vaulx to Francis I., March 5, 1530, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. 3014, fol. 78.

CHAP. III.

they could be realised. The French would certainly raise difficulties, and the help of the cardinal seemed absolutely necessary to obtain payment. This gave him a considerable advantage, as he was pretty sure to be allowed to remain in the vicinity of the court where he would be able to press Jean Joaquin, the French ambassador, for payment of the arrears and of the amount becoming due. He was made to ask urgently for these sums under the pretence that he was now very poor and in debt. The Duke of Norfolk earnestly backed his request, and gave the French to understand that Henry would be glad if the money were paid, that Wolsey might live at ease at his bishopric. But Jean Joaquin was not the dupe of Henry; he cleverly evaded all demands for payment, and asked the cardinal to give him a receipt for the amounts which Francis had been permitted to use in 1528 and in May 1529.[1]

As time went on, the resentment of Henry against his former prime minister abated. Already the friends of the cardinal dared to speak of him to the king, and made no secret of their sympathy.[2] It

[1] J. J. de Vaulx to Francis I., March 15, 1530, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. 3014, fols. 80, 81.

[2] Eustache Chapuis to Charles V., February 6, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 24: "Jean Joaquin a charge . . . de rabiller les affaires du Cardinal avec le Roy que seroit sans la dame fort ayse. . . . La pratique bien demesle ne pourroit estre plus advantageuse pour eulx mais elle nest sans grand danger de demoure imparfaytte et dirrite ceulx que ont le credit et maniement aux quieux y va la vie. . . . Maistre Rossel ma dit que a cause quil avoit porte quelque parolle au Roy en faveur du dict Cardinal que la dame avoit bien demoure ung moys luy tenant trognie et refusant luy parler."

was their wish to procure for Wolsey an interview with Henry, that he might once more use his powers of flattery and persuasion. As the fine season, during which Henry went roaming about the country, was fast approaching, there was every chance that a meeting might take place; for, if the king came near Richmond Lodge, the cardinal might, as if by accident, find himself in his way. This was a danger which Anne and her associates viewed with considerable alarm.[1] They all agreed that the cardinal must leave, and the recovery of the French pensions became a matter of secondary importance, which was not to prevent Wolsey's departure. Even if he remained, it seemed doubtful whether it would be possible to overcome the stubbornness of Jean Joaquin.

Anne openly resented the conduct of those friends of Wolsey who dared to speak in his favour, while her uncle pressed him to leave for York.[2] It was in vain that Wolsey pleaded poverty, the bad state of the roads, and the worse state of his houses in Yorkshire; his excuses were not accepted. Norfolk was now prime minister in his turn, and spoke in the name of the king, so that the cardinal was obliged to obey. But before starting for York, a few days before Easter, he had an interview with Jean Joaquin, and, having no further interest in continuing the intrigue about his arrears, he tried to

Wolsey goes to York. March, 1530.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., February 6, 1530, *loc. cit.*: "Jentends que pour remedier a cet inconvenient yl aye este ordonne quil napprocheroit de la court de cinq ou sept milles de ce pays."

[2] Chapuis to Charles V., February 6, 1530, *loc. cit.*

CHAP. III.

gain the good will of Francis by signing the three receipts for 37,500 crowns. His life thus lost £9,000 of its value to Henry.[1]

Wolsey's hope of obtaining some assistance from France was wholly illusory. Had he known what negotiations were going on between France and England, he would not have expected any advantage for himself by pleasing the French. For the new cabinet were even more eager than he to conciliate Francis; they professed the utmost anxiety to meet all his demands. The influence of Francis at the English court had increased to such an extent that he could scarcely have wished for more.[2]

Theologians and the divorce.

Henry's chief object was now to obtain opinions from learned men and learned bodies in favour of the divorce. His pedantic folly led him to believe that the world at large and the Roman court would regard such opinions—however dishonestly come by—with a certain reverence. Fair and foul means, more foul than fair, were not spared to secure signatures for the king. In England intimidation was freely used, and nearly every divine or lawyer, fearing the royal anger, bullied and insulted by the royal commissioners, subscribed. A few resisted, but they were so small a minority that Henry could boast that in England almost everybody was on his side.

On the Continent his agents found it much

[1] J. J. de Vaulx to Francis I., March 27, 1530, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. vol. 3126, fol. 106.

[2] J. J. de Vaulx to Francis I., March 22, 1530, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. vol. 3012, fol. 79, &c.

more difficult to obtain favourable opinions. Though they offered bribes to any theologian who would subscribe, they met with such a reception in Germany that all hope of success in that country had to be abandoned. Roman Catholics and Lutherans concurred in holding the marriage to be perfectly lawful.[1] Spain and the Low Countries were out of the question, for not only were most of their theologians hostile to Henry, but even if it had been possible to induce any one by bribes to support him, Charles would never have allowed the English agents to make the attempt. There remained but France and Upper Italy, and here the English agents were hard at work trying to obtain subscriptions. The task was by no means easy. Frenchmen were certainly rather unfavourable to Charles and to his family; nevertheless, they would not decide against Catherine. The Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, the famous Sorbonne, obstinately refused to give an opinion. The Faculties of Theology of Angers and Poitiers went further, and declared the marriage with Catherine to have been perfectly lawful.[2] Henry saw that if the

[1] Dr. Martin Luther's *Saemmtliche Schriften*, vol. x. p. 716, Sermon, anno 1522: "Das" (to marry a late brother's widow) "ist nun nicht mehr geboten doch auch nicht verboten," and *Ibid.* vol. x. pp. 744 and 745, Sermon (anno 1525?): "Daraus folget dass ich meines Weibes oder Braut Schwester nach ihrem Tode ehelichen mag, darzu auch des Bruders Weib nach seinem Tode im Gesetz befohlen war zu nehmen." At a later period Luther disapproved of such marriages, but he never admitted that a marriage once concluded with a deceased brother's widow was illegal and void.

[2] Opinion of Angers, May 7, 1530, Legrand, vol. iii. p. 507;

CHAP. III. other French universities followed the example of the Faculties of Angers and Poitiers, his cause would be entirely discredited; and as this could not be prevented by his own efforts, he urged Francis to use his influence with the doctors of Paris.[1] Francis could scarcely be expected to render such a service for nothing, and in order to obtain it the English court was obliged to make concessions of every kind, and to offer very real advantages.

Influence of Francis I.

But it was not only in France that the assistance of Francis seemed indispensable; in Italy too the English agents would have failed, had they not been backed by the French party. At that time the whole peninsula was divided into two hostile camps: the French and the Spanish or Imperial. In every town of Upper Italy Charles and Francis had numerous adherents or pensioners, ready to obey their behests. Henry had no such organised party at his command, and without French aid the English agents would never have been allowed to bribe as they did. The

and Opinion of Poitiers, April 23, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, ii. fol. 25.

[1] G. du Bellay and J. J. de Vaulx to Francis I., February 15, 1530, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. 3019, fol. 112: "Sicome col mezo de V. M^ta^ la M^ta^ sua non dubita que tutti ben sentirano altramente chin suo favor non puo venire, cossi disse ley. E perche la prestezza importa . . ."; and J. J. de Vaulx to Francis I., March 5, 1530, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. 3014, fol. 78: "E se con tal mezo S. S^ta^ inclinera al intento desso S^mo^ Re in buona hora se manco Sua M^ta^, parendoli haver justissima causa, per satisfatione della sua conscientia per aventura prendera degli expedienti che a lei e al suo buon consiglio pareran piu al proposito . . ."; and J. J. de Vaulx to Francis I., March 27, 1530, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. 3126, fol. 106.

Imperialists would have asked for their expulsion, and the request would have been granted. But when the English were backed by France, they were able to disregard the Imperialists and to bribe as much as they pleased. CHAP. III.

For the same reasons French assistance was necessary at Rome, where the College of Cardinals was divided into an Imperial and into a French faction. A few cardinals might be neutral, but there was no English faction, and not even a single Englishman occupied any important position in Rome. It was only through the influence of the French party that the English agents could hope to obtain an opportunity of gaining over some of those opposed to the divorce.

Deference of the English Government to France.

Under these circumstances, the English government, if bent on pursuing the course which had been adopted by Wolsey, could have no policy of its own; it could not risk defeat by alienating the good will of the French king. Never therefore had there been such demonstrations of affection for France. When a quarrel as to some disputed territory near Calais arose, Henry, otherwise so punctilious, exclaimed that he would permit the French to take a rod of his ground rather than allow his servants to take a foot of what belonged to France, and the matter was settled to the satisfaction of the French ambassador.[1] And so in all other matters; it was no longer necessary to buy the friendship of English ministers by such bribes and services as

[1] J. J. de Vaulx to A. de Montmorency, November 15, 1530, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Italiens, vol. 1131, fol. 44.

CHAP. III.

Wolsey had claimed; the most powerful influence, that of Anne, was bound to Francis.[1] The Earl of Wiltshire had, by command of Henry, stayed all the summer in France, partly to give an account of his mission to Francis, partly to negotiate a closer alliance.[2] George Boleyn, who was totally unfit for his new post and who longed to be back in England, had been recalled, and John Wellesbourne had taken his place.[3] But the principal negotiation remained in the hands of Wiltshire.

March, 1530.

Wiltshire and Francis I.

The earl not only acted as Henry's minister, he worked in favour of his daughter. He begged that, as soon as the French princes should be liberated by Charles, Jean du Bellay, who was now a staunch friend of the Boleyns, should go to England and promote Anne's cause; and he promised that if she were made queen she would for ever be the most devoted adherent of Francis. Du Bellay disliked the mission, but Francis was not wholly deaf to such overtures,[4] for it seemed worth while to make an effort

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 15, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 61: "Le dict S^r Roy de France na rien perdu a la mort du Cardinal dYorch recouvrant cette dame car oultre quelle est plus maligne et a plus de credit que navoit lautre il ne luy baille vint cinq mille escus comme il faisoit au susdit Cardinal ains tant seulement flatteries et promesses de soliciter le divorce."

[2] J. Breton de Villandry to A. de Montmorency, May 6, 1530, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. 3018, fol. 58.

[3] J. J. de Vaulx to Francis I., March 27, 1530, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. 3126, fol. 106; and Accounts of Sir Bryan Tuke, March 20, 1530, Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. v. p. 318.

[4] J. du Bellay to A. de Montmorency, June 26, 1530, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. 3079, fol. 35: "Je crois Mgr. Vous souvient dun propos que je Vous tins a Bayonne qui avoit est mis en

to bring about a lasting enmity between Henry and Charles. Wiltshire was treated with the greatest courtesy; and the king flattered his vanity, which seems to have been great, by lodging him at the palace and by giving splendid entertainments in his honour. Moreover, his request regarding du Bellay was granted.[1] CHAP. III.

French Universities and the divorce.

With the help of Francis, whose ministers bullied and browbeat the Parisian doctors, an irregular opinion was obtained at one of the sessions of the faculty of theology declaring the marriage between Henry and Catherine to have been void and illegal.[2] Forty-three doctors protested against the vote as surreptitiously obtained, but the registers were taken away, so that the opinion could not be cancelled.[3] Other French universities followed the

July 2, 1530.

avant envers Mr. de Vuilcher pour resserrer lamitie de ces deux Roys quil na oublie envers son maistre de sorte quil este arreste que incontinent messieurs delivres je cours en Angleterre pour cet effect . . . il est vray quon se fust bien passe de tant se haster . . . il ny a plus ordre de rompre la chose mais vostre venue la pourra beaucoup amender."

[1] J. du Bellay to A. de Montmorency, "De Moulins ce mardi," Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. 3079, fol. 45; and J. Breton de Villandry to A. de Montmorency, May 6, 1530, *loc. cit.*

[2] Francis I. to the President of Paris, June 17, 1530, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 2903; Guillaume du Bellay to A. de Montmorency, June 12, July 8, and August 15 and 18, 1530, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. 3020, fol. 113; 3080, fol. 153; 3079, fols. 91 and 99; Jean du Bellay to A. de Montmorency, August 15, 1530, *Ibid.* vol. 3077, fol. 93; and Opinion of the Faculty of Theology of Paris, July 2, 1530, Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. p. 393.

[3] Names of doctors in favour of Catherine, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, ii. fol. 28.

CHAP. III.

example of Paris, and with these favourable results the Earl of Wiltshire returned in the beginning of August to England. He was closely followed by du Bellay, who arrived in London on the seventeenth of the same month.[1]

August 17, 1530.

Du Bellay's advice.

The bishop, when received by the royal council, advocated a bold course. He urged that Henry should marry the Lady Anne, and expressed his belief that with the help of the French king Clement would be brought to ratify the marriage. This seemed plausible enough, for Clement himself had in former times spoken in a sense very nearly the same, but the English council were as averse from the plan as ever, for they feared that by such precipitancy England might be made even more dependent on French help. With the exception of Anne's uncle and father all the councillors voted against the scheme, the Duke of Suffolk being loudest in opposition.[2] The bishop spoke rather sharply about their action, and it seemed to him that a sudden change had come over the English court, for in other matters also he met with a cold response. The treaty which he had been commissioned to sign was not concluded, and for a moment it appeared as if the mission, instead of confirming, would shake the friendship with France.

Du Bellay failed chiefly because the members of

[1] E. Chapuis to Margaret of Savoy, August 20, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iv. fol. 45.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 5, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 73: "Et dient que le duc de Susphoc a este celluy qua le plus resiste." The abstract of this letter given by Mr. de Gayangos in his *Calendar*, vol. iv. part i. p. 708 to 710, is very inaccurate.

CHAP. III.

the council were once more quarrelling. Wolsey being far off at York, they thought themselves secure, and those who found their share of the spoil insufficient now meditated the overthrow of Anne and her uncle. The Duke of Suffolk had been so enraged by the slight put upon his wife at the banquet, and by subsequent acts of insolence of Anne and her brother, that he dared to tell the king that the woman he destined for the throne had been the mistress of one of his gentlemen. Sir Thomas Wyatt seems to have been meant, but in any case Suffolk offered to prove the accusation by the evidence of unimpeachable witnesses. Henry either disbelieved or feigned to disbelieve what his brother-in-law told him, and the duke retired half in disgrace from the court. But the opposition was not thereby allayed; the divorce became every day more unpopular at the council, at court, and throughout the country.[1]

Dissension in the Council.

Meanwhile, Wolsey was watching his opportunity. He had by no means resigned himself to finish his life in obscurity; he continued to maintain a numerous train, he made himself popular in the north, and he never gave up the hope of returning to power. He

Wolsey's intrigues.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., May 10, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 50: "Sire il y a longtemps que le duc de Suffocq ne sest trouve en cort et dit lon quil en est banni pour quelque temps a cause quil revela au Roy que la dame avoyt este trouvee au delit avec ung gentilhomme de court que desia en avoit autreffois este chasse pour suspicion et ceste derniere foys lon lavoit faict vuyder de cour a linstance de la dicte dame qui faignoit estre fort couroussee contre luy mais enfin le Roy a intercede vers elle que le dict gentilhomme retournast a la court;" and George Wyatt, *Life of Sir Thomas Wyatt.*

CHAP. III. was of course greatly pleased by Wiltshire's failure at Bologna, and was delighted when he heard of the dissensions in the council.[1] By means of a former physician of Campeggio who had gone over to his service, he kept up an active correspondence with Jean Joaquin and with Eustache Chapuis.[2] But in these intrigues he showed little ability and little acquaintance with the character of the men whom he tried to gain over. When it was rumoured that the French ambassador had advised Henry to marry Anne Boleyn without further delay, Wolsey sent a message to Chapuis to say that he would be content to lose his archbishopric if the marriage had been concluded two years ago, for in that case the ruin brought upon him by the infamous woman would already have been avenged.[3] Wolsey, who understood Henry's character, knew that if Anne became his wife he would soon get tired of her; but in his rage he overlooked the fact that his vindictive feelings were not shared by Chapuis. To the imperial ambassador the ruin of Anne was desirable chiefly as a means of preventing the divorce; if it was to be secured by the repudiation of Catherine, he would have no hand in it. Though the court at Brussels

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., April 23, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 43.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., April 23 and June 15, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fols. 43 and 64.

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., May 10, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 50: "Et vouldroit le dict Cardinal quil luy eust couste son archevesche que cella eu este attempte il y a deux ans car mieulx neust il peu estre vange de ceste garse que la deffayt."

was rather friendly to Wolsey, the ambassador gave no encouragement to the cardinal's agents and did not in any way act in his favour.[1]

Nor was the cardinal more happy in his attempt to obtain the assistance of Jean Joaquin de Vaulx. He reminded de Vaulx of his manifold services to France and of the promises made to him, but Jean Joaquin had by this time discovered that his best friends in the English council were the very men against whom his aid was wanted.[2] He would not listen to Wolsey's messages. An appeal which Wolsey is said to have made to the pope, asking him to excommunicate Henry if he did not at once submit and send Anne away, remained equally without response.[3]

Another attempt which the cardinal made to regain his power proved even more disastrous to him. While, to make the king more pliable, he was intriguing with Chapuis, Jean Joaquin, and the pope, he tried to intrigue with Henry himself against the royal ministers. He sent off several secret agents, who were instructed to offer his services, in the hope that Henry, disgusted with the incapacity of his present

[1] Giles de la Pommeraye to A. de Montmorency, December 28, 1529, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. 20502, fol. 44: "Le Cardinal de Yort ne demourera gueres longuement . . . les flamands ne luy donnent le tort;" and E. Chapuis to Charles V., November 27, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 96.

[2] J. J. de Vaulx to Francis I., March 27, 1530, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. 3126, fol. 106; and E. Chapuis to Charles V., November 13, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 93.

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., November 13 and 27, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fols. 93 and 96.

CHAP. III.

advisers, frightened by the difficulties threatening him, would recall the cardinal to his presence.[1] But the men whom Wolsey had chosen for this errand were the first to betray him. It was very dangerous to negotiate such matters with so untrustworthy and dishonest a man as Henry VIII. was known to be, for he might at any moment denounce the messengers to the council and hand them over to the tender mercies of Norfolk and his adherents. Wolsey's agents preferred, therefore, to play false themselves, and informed the duke of the mission entrusted to them.[2] The news created considerable alarm among the members of the cabinet. They had discovered one of Wolsey's intrigues, but it was probable that he was carrying on many more of the same kind. He might succeed and be recalled to court, in which case their influence would soon be gone; and as Wolsey was not of a forgiving temper, this was not an agreeable prospect for those who had displaced him.[3]

Arrest of Wolsey.

The common danger drew the ministers together. It was impossible to watch the cardinal's movements

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., November 27, 1530, *loc. cit.*

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., July 11, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 59. Norfolk said of Wolsey: "Touteffois de sa vie ne parleroit au Roy ny le verroit; ce quil avoit bien pense fayre il y a peu de jours et a cet effect avoit invente la plus caute et subtille occasion du monde, mais les moyens de lexecution avoint este bien fols car le dict Cardinal sestoit declayre a troys qui feroint faulce monnoye pour le dict duc."

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., February 6, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 24.

so closely as to prevent any secret intercourse with the king: the only way to counteract his intrigues was to strike at him fast and hard. The whole party set to work to bring their adversary to complete ruin, and before long they found a way of doing it. Agostino was arrested, and by threats or promises he was induced to make a full confession of all that had been transacted with Jean Joaquin and Chapuis.[1] This done, it was not difficult to raise Henry's anger against the fallen minister, and orders were sent to the Earl of Northumberland—Anne's former admirer and fast friend—to arrest the cardinal. On the 4th of November Wolsey found himself a prisoner at Cawood, and he was shortly afterwards sent to take his trial in London.

November 4, 1530.

Norfolk was still ill at ease, for the evidence obtained would scarcely justify a sentence of death, and it could not in any case be divulged without danger. The cardinal would at the utmost be kept a prisoner at the Tower, where he would cause as much anxiety as at York, since in a moment of anger with the duke Henry might recall Wolsey to the council board. No hurry was, therefore, made to bring him to London.

But Norfolk and Anne were spared all further trouble in this matter. Frightened by his arrest,

Wolsey's death.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., November 27, 1530, Vienna Archives, i. fol. 96: "Mais depuis quilz ont eu le medecin du dict Cardinal entre les mains ils ont trouves ce quilz serchoient. . . . il a chante comme ils demandoient."

CHAP. III. travelling in the very worst season, already worn out by work and indulgence, Wolsey fell ill on the road. He was obliged to stop at Leicester, his illness having been increased by the journey; and a few days later, on the 27th of November, 1530, he breathed his last.

CHAPTER IV.

THOMAS CROMWELL.

THE news of Wolsey's death was received by Anne and her friends with an exultation they did not care to conceal. Their great rival was gone, all danger threatening them from his vengeance seemed over; and with characteristic coarseness they expressed their hatred by violent lampoons on his character. Lord Wiltshire gave an entertainment at which a farce was performed representing the late cardinal going down to hell, and Norfolk was so pleased with the play that he had it printed. Wolsey was spoken of in such opprobrious terms that even the French ambassadors were shocked and loudly expressed their disapproval.[1]

Exultation of Anne's party.

December, 1530.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 23, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 11: "Sire le comte de Vulchier naguiere donna a soupper au sieur de la Guiche ou pour mieux le festoyer fust jouee une farse de lallee du Cardinal en enfert de quoy le dict de la Guiche blasme fort le dict comte et encoires plus le duc pour ce quil a commande le fayre mectre en impression. Lon a fayt et continuellement fait lon grande chiere au dict de la guiche touteffois ilz nen scavent tant faire quil ne sen gaudisse et ne leur die de [leur die en] leurs entreprinses pouvre gouvernement

CHAP. IV.

Anne's increasing arrogance.

Anne became daily more overbearing. The latest exploit in her honour had been the fabrication of the wonderful pedigree, in which good Sir William Bullen the mercer was represented as the descendant of a Norman knight. Though these pretensions were laughed at, and though Anne's aunt the duchess freely told her what they were worth, she was nowise abashed.[1] To show her contempt for those who opposed her, she chose a device which she had heard in France, but which she only partially remembered. "Ainsi sera, groigne qui groigne!" was embroidered on the liveries of her servants.[2] Anne had no luck in such matters; to her mortification she learned that she had adopted the motto of her bitter enemies, the princes of the house of Burgundy. "Groigne qui groigne," she heard it repeated, "et vive Bourgoigne!" The liveries had to be laid aside, and Anne's servants on Christmas Day appeared in their old doublets.[3]

et conseil." The passage, as quoted by Mr. de Gayangos in his *Calendar*, vol. iv. part ii. p. 41, I have not been able to find in Chapuis' despatch.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., December 31, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 109: "Lon ma dict que la duchesse de Norphocq luy a naguyres derechiefz desclayre et deschiffre larbre de sa genealogie la blasonnant bien asprement. Le Roy en est bien deplaisant mays il fault quil aye pacience."

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., December 21, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 106.

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., December 31, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 109: "Sire la dame na permis que ces serviteurs a ces festes ayent portes leurs accoustrements faytz avec la devise grognie que grognie. Je ne scais si elle attend la determination de ce parlement ou sy quelqung luy a dit que le propre et vray refrain dicelle devise est de y ajouster vive borgougne."

She vented her anger by abusing the Spaniards, and wishing them all at the bottom of the sea; and when one of Catherine's ladies, bolder than the rest, bid her remember that the queen was born in Spain, she swore that she would not acknowledge Catherine to be either her queen or the wife of the king.[1]

Anne deserted by her friends.

Anne would have borne these little annoyances with greater equanimity had not more serious troubles come at the same time. The death of Wolsey, as she soon found, was not, after all, of much benefit to her. The coalition which had ruined the cardinal having been dissolved, nearly all her allies began to forsake her. The nobles, Suffolk at their head, seeing that she was more arrogant than Wolsey had ever been, were the first to go over to the opposition. Gardiner, who had obtained a promise of the bishopric of Winchester, showed himself less eager to please, and was no longer implicitly trusted.[2] More, Fitzwilliam, the comptroller Guildford and other influential officials were decidedly hostile; and even the Duke of Norfolk was said to have spoken in terms not at all favourable to Anne.[3] Her party had for the moment dwindled

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 1, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 1: "La dame sen tenant asseure est plus brave quung lion jusqua dire a une dame de la Royne quelle vouldroit que tant dispaigniolz quil y a au monde fussent en la mer et luy disant lautre que pour lhonneur de la Royne quelle ne debvroit ainsi parler elle lui replica quelle ne luy challoyt de la Royne ni des siens et quelle aymeroit mieulx que ladicte Royne fust pendue avant quelle confessa quelle fust sa mayestresse ne famme du Roy."

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., June 6, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 47.

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., April 29, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 41: "La ducesse de Norphoc a cecy rapporte a

CHAP. IV.

down to a few of her nearest kinsfolk and personal friends. Catherine took advantage of this state of things to have a serious talk with her husband. On Christmas Eve she saw him in private, and upbraided him with the wrong he was doing her, and with the scandalous example he was setting by keeping Anne Boleyn in his company. When they quarrelled, Catherine generally got the better of the king; he was cowed by her firmness, and could not prevail against her simple and straightforward arguments. But in this case the queen had courted defeat by making an insinuation which was unfounded. Henry triumphantly replied that Catherine was altogether mistaken, that there was nothing wrong in his relations with Anne, and that he kept her in his company only to learn her character, as he had made up his mind to marry her. Having grown bold by this first success, he declared that marry her he would, whatever the pope might say.[1] Wherewith this matrimonial dispute came to an end.

A matrimonial dispute.

December 24, 1530.

Henry's embarrassment.

Notwithstanding his valorous talk, Henry found himself not a little embarrassed. It had now become pretty clear that the Roman court would not grant the divorce; and his agents at Rome had been occupied in staving off the inevitable result of Catherine's appeal. They had already hinted that the cause could not be judged out of England, and that

la Royne luy disant davantaige que son mary en estoit merveilleusement marry et tribule, disant quil veoit bien quelle (Anne Boleyn) seroit cause de fayre detruire tout le parentaige."

[1] Catherine of Aragon to Clement VII., December, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, ii. fol. 1.

it ought to be settled by the authority of the English bishops. The Boleyns strongly advocated this course, the French would have approved of it, and Henry's conscience would have been satisfied by a show of a verdict in his favour. But the difficulty was, that the bishops were not at all inclined to do what he desired, and that they were daily becoming less submissive. The attacks made upon them in parliament had alarmed their cupidity; the insolence of the royal ministers angered them; a few had a remnant of conscience, and were disinclined to take part in an iniquitous judgment. Several of those who had formerly gone with the king now held back or resisted his policy.

January, 1531.

During the first month of 1531, Henry seems nearly to have lost heart.[1] The news from Rome was so bad that he knew not what to do. The imperial agents were pressing the pope to order Henry under pain of excommunication to send Anne from court; and now that Wolsey was dead, and the former existence of the famous decretal could neither be proved by his testimony nor made use of with his help, Clement was less unwilling to act upon the emperor's advice. If he did so, and if he followed up his threat by fulminating the censures of the Church, Henry was not yet in a position to resist, the public mind in England

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 31, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 13: "La duchesse de Norfock a envoye hier dire a la Royne quelle sera tousiours de son party et quelle print bon cueur car ses adversaires estoient au bout de leur sens estans plus estonnez et nouveaulx en ceste affaire que le premier jour."

CHAP. IV. being unprepared for a schism. The only hope was that Francis might prevent Clement from issuing the brief; but the French king just now was out of humour with Henry, who had not complied with the most exorbitant of his demands.[1] Things looked so gloomy that, if Chapuis may be trusted, Henry thought of sending Anne from court, before he should be called upon to do so. He cannot have intended to make her remain away a long time; but, with Henry, "out of sight" was easily "out of mind," the opposite party was strong and numerous, and her absence might have proved the beginning of a total separation.[2]

March, 1531.

Anne impatient. June, 1530.

Anne knew well that her game was not yet won. During the preceding summer, when it had appeared that Campeggio would not give sentence in favour of Henry, she had urged the king to marry her at once, without waiting for a formal dissolution of his marriage with Catherine. Henry was afraid to take so bold a course, and told her that for her sake he was making many enemies. Anne received the reproach badly, and vehemently exclaimed that his sacrifices

[1] Instructions to the Bishop of Bayonne, Paris, Bib. Nat. MSS. Fr. 3020, fol. 59; and E. Chapuis to Charles V., October 31, 1530, and March 8, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 87 and 227, i. fol. 27.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 31, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 13: "Le Roy . . . delibereroit veu quautrement il ny pouvoit remedier prandre lhonneur a soy et de son propre mouvement avant quil y soit aultrement force de separer la dame davec luy. Il est bien a supposer que son intent est de la rappeler tost mais je pense que sy une fois elle est en voye dieu et la Royne pourvoyeroint bien a son retour."

were nothing compared with what she was ready to endure. She was well aware, she said, that there was an old prophecy that in this time a queen of England was to be burned, and she loved him so much that she did not fear even death if she could marry him.[1] But Henry was not to be moved, and Anne had to wait. CHAP. IV.

This she did not do very patiently. We hear of another quarrel between the lovers in November 1530. Anne once more upbraided him with his slackness and want of energy, and cried out that she regretted the loss of her youth and her reputation in striving after that which she could not obtain.[2] Henry tried to soothe her; and to show how much he was in earnest he allowed her to hide behind a screen while he gave audience to Chapuis, and to overhear all he said to the ambassador.[3] *November*, 1530.

But even this could not satisfy Anne. In the spring of 1531 her marriage seemed as distant as ever, and the delay did not improve her temper. She appears to have had violent quarrels with Henry, in the course of which she used such strong language

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., July 11, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 59: "Il y a desia quelque temps que le Roy luy disoit quelle luy estoit merveilleusement obligee car pour son amour il pregnoit picque a tout le monde . . . que cela estoit peu de faict au regart delle que scavoit bien que par les anciennes prophecies que disoint que en ce temps yl y devoit avoir une Royne que seroit bruslee mais quant bien elle devroit mille fois morir si ne rabbatroit elle rien de son amour."

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., November 27, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 99.

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., November 13, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 93.

CHAP. IV. that he complained about her to the Duke of Norfolk, saying she did not behave like the queen, who had never in her life used ill words towards him.[1]

Thomas Cromwell. It was at this most critical juncture that Anne found an able and faithful ally in a man who had just entered political life, but who had risen in it with the utmost rapidity. Thomas Cromwell was the son of a wealthy citizen, and received in youth a tolerable education. After his father's death he found himself in bad circumstances, and tried to mend his fortunes by going abroad, but he does not appear to have succeeded. On the Continent, however, he gained a fair knowledge of French, Italian, and Dutch, and of the state and resources of foreign countries. Having returned to London he became a small attorney, and, as it seems, a money lender. He was brought under the notice of Cardinal Wolsey, who took him into his service and employed him in most questionable transactions, by which convents were despoiled to enrich the foundations at Oxford and Ipswich. When shortly afterwards Wolsey fell, Cromwell gave signal proof of his ability, managing to serve men of all parties. For Wolsey's enemies he secured pensions on Winchester and St. Alban's, for Wolsey himself he obtained royal letters of protection and ultimately his pardon. At the same time he was not

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., April 29, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 41: "Elle devient touts les jours plus fiere et plus brave usant de parolles et auctorite envers le Roy de quoy il sest plaint plusieurs foys au duc de Norphoc disant quelle nestoit point de la condicion de la Royne laquelle en sa vie ne luy avoit dict mauvaise parolle. La ducesse de Norphoc a cecy rapporte a la Royne. . . ."

forgetful of his own interests. He solicited and obtained from the Duke of Norfolk the privilege of being nominated as one of the burgesses of the borough of Taunton; he received from the duke himself instructions how to act in parliament; and he was soon preferred to the royal service.[1] As he had made many friends at court by giving away the wealth of Wolsey, and as his talents and energy attracted attention, he quickly advanced in favour and in rank. In 1530, he was made secretary to the king, and at the time of his former patron's death he was already taking a leading part in politics, especially in all matters relating to the clergy. When the coalition broke asunder, he stood by Anne and the Boleyns, and was soon rewarded by being sworn of the king's council.

November, 1529.

Proposed attack on the clergy.

Cromwell advocated a bold and energetic policy, and wished to use for the benefit of Lady Anne his experience in dealing with clergymen. The first indication of a plan to frighten the English clergy into submission to the king's will is to be found in a letter of Cromwell to Wolsey, and it seems most probable that the idea originated with Cromwell.[2] The proposal was that all those who had ever received powers, investiture or dispensations from

[1] Ralf Sadleyr to Cromwell, November 1, 1529, British Museum, Cotton MSS. Cleopatra, E. IV. fol. 178; and Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 3180.

[2] Cromwell to Cardinal Wolsey, October 21, 1530, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 3019: "The parliament ys prorogyd [until the] vi daye of January. The prelatts shall not appere [in the] premunire. Ther ys another way devysyd in [place thereof] as your Grace shall ferther know."

CHAP. IV. Wolsey as legate, should be threatened with prosecution for præmunire, if they did not entirely submit to the king. Nearly all the higher clergy belonged to this category, and with the fear of so great a penalty before them they would, it was hoped, grant everything the king wished. Such a plan could not of course fail to please Anne, to whom it held out a sure way of obtaining what she desired. The king was equally satisfied with it, as its success would make the clergy entirely dependent on him. And the party in the council which now generally opposed the measures brought forward by Anne's friends, willingly assented to a scheme which would weaken the influence of the bishops.

Parochial priests. At that time the English clergy consisted of two very different classes having little sympathy with one another. The lower parochial clergy, who were usually neither learned nor ambitious and seldom rose to higher rank, lived with the people, and were considered the equals of small farmers and yeomen, decidedly the inferiors of well-to-do gentlemen. They tried to eke out their salaries—ranging from ten to twenty pounds a year—with the small fees they got for their services, and with presents from the wealthier parishioners. Beyond the limits of their parishes they found little to interest them; they contented themselves with performing the ceremonies of the Church and administering the sacraments, and rarely meddled with politics.

The regulars. The regular clergy, who were rather numerous, were of greater importance. Many of them, like the parochial clergy, sprang from the lowest classes of society, and

individually did not rise much above their kinsfolk. But even a monastery wholly peopled by such rude and lowly friars had as a collective entity considerable influence. The monks were mostly landed proprietors employing a number of servants and labourers. They often had some skill in medicine; they kept in safe custody documents and articles of value; they were in frequent communication with other monasteries of the same order, and were thus able to inform their neighbours of the news of the day. They had hundreds of little ways of making themselves useful. Besides, several of the monastic orders consisted of preachers who went from place to place to supplement the failings of the secular priests, who were generally too ignorant to deliver a sermon. In the whole archdiocese of York there were in 1534 but twelve parochial priests able to preach.[1] Some monks possessed the gift of real eloquence, and their sermons were listened to eagerly by congregations who had few opportunities of hearing anything so impressive. The regular clergy were therefore more powerful than the parochial priests, and they used their influence for the attainment of all kinds of ends, political ends not excepted.

The higher clergy.

Bishops, deans and archdeacons did not often care to manifest clerical qualities. The most correct definition of a bishop under Henry VIII. would, perhaps, be—a royal official pensioned on Church funds. The way in which bishops, deans, and archdeacons arrived at their dignities was generally this. A young man of humble origin and small means, who was

[1] Record Office, Report of Edward Lee, Box R, No. 60.

CHAP. IV. unable or unwilling to be a soldier, had, if he was ambitious, but two careers open to him—the Church and the law. The former offered by far the most brilliant prospects, for it provided scope for a variety of talents, and the one drawback, the condition of celibacy, was often not greatly considered by a man who had not the means of maintaining a family. A man who could read, write, reckon fluently and keep accounts, and who knew enough of Latin to make out the sense of legal documents, very easily found employment with some wealthy and influential patron. Under the name of chaplain he was engaged during the week in keeping accounts, in writing letters, in acting as steward or agent, and on Sunday he said mass. If he was admitted into the household of some great nobleman or some high official, he made a good start towards arriving at a bishopric. Gaining the confidence of his new master, and being entrusted with important business, he came into contact with a great many persons of influence, and might finally arrive at that road to fortune, the royal chapel, or the chapel of the prime minister. Here he was pretty sure to obtain before long a deanery or a good parsonage, which he never visited, but left to the care of a vicar at ten pounds a year. By and by he might be sent on foreign missions, or be made a royal secretary, master of the rolls, or something of the kind; so that between his ecclesiastical income and the emoluments and profits of his office he could live well enough. After many years of intelligent and unscrupulous service he became ripe for a bishopric; and at

the next vacancy of a fitting see, the king, making use of his quasi-right to grant *congé d'élire*, nominated him, the pope confirmed the nomination as a matter of course, and the worthy official was consecrated a bishop. In obtaining a decided rank and a better income, he did not cease to render purely political service. Many a bishop remained to the end of his life a mere royal official, never caring for the diocese over which he was set. And for this course he had very good reasons. First, there were poor bishoprics and opulent bishoprics. A bishop of St. Asaph, St. David's, or Llandaff, with scarce £300 a year, very naturally desired to be translated to Ely, Winchester, or Durham, the revenues of which were about £3,000 a year. Moreover, the king on granting a bishopric generally reserved a part of its revenues to be employed as pensions at his pleasure. When the recipients of such pensions died or were otherwise provided for, the prelate tried to secure the money for himself; but this was allowed only if the king was well pleased with him. It was therefore the interest of the bishop to retain the royal favour, and to serve the king who could bestow such benefits, rather than the Church which had nothing to give him. Even cardinals' hats were bestowed only on royal recommendation.

It was only when the better part of his life was spent, when his health was impaired and his energy broken, when he was no longer good enough for the royal service, that a bishop retired to his diocese and spent there at least a part of the year. But he was of course a stranger to his clergy, and his life had been

CHAP. IV.

so different from theirs that he rarely understood their character or won their confidence. Even if after a time he began to take some interest in his spiritual work, he was not well fitted to reform abuses; and any reforms he introduced came to a speedy end when at his death a new non-resident bishop was appointed, the diocese being then again left for many years to take care of itself.

In 1530 three English sees, those of Salisbury, Worcester, and Llandaff, were held by foreigners who simply enjoyed the revenues of them. All the other bishops, with three exceptions, either were or had been royal officials. Officials also held more than half of the deaneries and archdeaconries.

The bishops and the lay peers.

The episcopal bench was detested by the barons, for the bishops were not only, as a rule, more arrogant than lay officials, but they generally voted in the upper house of parliament with the government. A bishop residing in his diocese was scarcely more agreeable than a bishop who lived in London; he was a dangerous competitor for local popularity, his influence becoming often even greater than that of the smaller barons. For, once in the country, the bishop courted popularity. He entertained his neighbours, spoke kindly to the farmers and yeomen, and aided his clergy, rendering a great many little services for which his career had fitted him. He advised people who had suits at court, gave them letters of introduction, or obtained information for them. In every respect he was thus a rival to the lay peers, all the more formidable as he wielded the powers of the Church, and

as an open quarrel with him was perilous for high and low. CHAP. IV.

Convocation and Cromwell's scheme.

The peers, therefore, offered no opposition to the plan of Cromwell, not being aware that the end he had in view was very different from what they desired. Shortly after the new year, in 1531, convocation met, and the clergy were informed of the danger in which they stood. At first they thought that the scheme was simply a device to obtain a larger grant of money than they otherwise would have made; and after some discussion they offered the sum of £100,000, to be paid in five years for the king's use. But to their dismay the grant was refused in the form in which they had agreed to it, and Cromwell sent them the draft of a declaration requiring them to acknowledge their offences, to crave for mercy, and to recognise the king as the supreme head of the Church of England.[1]

January, 1531.

But the new minister had miscalculated the power which he could bring to bear on the clergy. As soon as it became apparent to what end his proceedings tended, they met with general opposition. The peers had been ready enough to assent to the humiliation and the spoliation of the hated bishops, but they did not at all wish them to be made more dependent on the king's will. The clergy also made a stand, the demand urged by Cromwell being so unheard of that even the most timid would not concede it. Every day the opposition grew, disunion crept into the royal council, and Cromwell found that

[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 725–745; and Chapuis to Charles V., February 14, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 15.

CHAP. IV.

he would not triumph so easily as he had anticipated. A compromise was effected, convocation agreeing to make the proposed declaration with the saving clause "as far as God's laws allow," a clause by which all practical value was taken out of the act.[1]

Effect of the attack on the clergy.

This compromise was in reality a serious defeat for Anne's party. The bills hostile to the authority of the pope, which it had been intended to submit to parliament, were abandoned; and a strong reaction became manifest throughout the country. The bishops were rather ashamed of having made even nominal concessions; and a protest was signed by numerous priests of both provinces against any encroachments on the liberty of the Church or any act derogatory to the authority of the Holy See.[2]

May 18, 1531.

[1] Chapuis to Charles V., February 21, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 18.

[2] Chapuis to Charles V., May 22, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 45: "Sire depuis quatre jours les ecclesiastiques de larchevesche dyort et de levesche de Durem ont envoye au Roy une grande protestation et reclamation contre la souveraincte que le Roy veult pretendre et usurper sur eulx. Ceulx de larchevesche de Canturbery ont de mesme publie une autre protestacion de laquelle envoye un double a Mgr. de Granvelle et se trouve le Roy bien desplaisant des dictes choses." Protestation of the clergy of Canterbury, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, ii. fol. 26, signed by Peter Ligham in his own name and in that of the clergy of Canterbury, Robert Shorton, Adam Travis, Ric. Fetherstoune, Richard Henrisoun, Thomas Petty, John Guarr, Rowland Phelippes, Wylliam Clyffe, archdeacon of London, J. Fitzjames for the clergy of Bath and chapter of Wells, Thomas Parker for the clergy of Worcester, Rob. Ridley for the clergy of London, Nicolas Metcalfe, archdeacon of Rochester, Rob. Johanson for the clergy and chapter of Rochester, Ralph Suede for the clergy and chapter of Coventry and Lichfield, John Willo for the clergy of Rochester, and John Rayne for the clergy of Lincoln.

The bishops of Rochester, Exeter, Chichester, Bath, Norwich, St. Asaph and Llandaff were now decidedly in favour of Catherine. The Archbishop of Canterbury himself began to lean to their side. Nearly all the lower secular and regular clergy were against the divorce.

At Rome Cromwell's attempt produced even more striking consequences. It was regarded as a revolt against the Holy See; and many of those who had hitherto rather favoured the king were alienated by his proceedings. The tribunal of the Rota, and a consistory of cardinals called in on the question, had both decided that Henry was bound to plead at Rome, and that even if he did not appear in person or by proxy the cause must go on. On the 5th of January 1531 Paul Capisuccio, one of the auditors of the Rota, had been appointed by the pope to hear the cause, and a mandate had been issued calling upon Henry to appear;[1] but the English agents had declined to admit the jurisdiction of the Roman tribunal, contending that it was a privilege of kings to have such causes tried in their own country. The pope had granted delay after delay, and there had been endless discussions about the question whether Henry was bound to plead or not. But after receipt of the news of Henry's proceedings in the spring of 1531, the temper of the Roman court was roused, and the pope by his nuncio in England, Baron de Burgo, sent warning to the king that the cause must now begin.

January 5, 1531.

[1] Brief of Pope Clement VII., January 5, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, ii. fol. 3.

CHAP. IV.

The message was not an agreeable one for De Burgo, and he took some days to make up his mind to deliver it. At last, on the 31st of May, he had audience of Henry, and explained the matter as mildly as he could. As he had expected, the king railed against the pope, swearing that he would not submit, and threatening with the help of France to march on Rome at the head of an army. De Burgo could but shrug his shoulders at such childish bragging, but the result of the audience was that the king was more enraged than ever.

May 31, 1531.

Deputation to Catherine.

When the nuncio left, Henry, on the same evening, called a council. It was decided that another attempt should be made to induce Catherine to forego her rights, and that a deputation should be sent to her next day. Catherine was warned at once by some secret friend, perhaps by one of the commissioners. On the following morning she heard several masses to gain strength for the impending struggle. It was nine o'clock at night when she received the deputation, consisting of the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquis of Exeter, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Northumberland, and Wiltshire, several other peers, the bishops of Lincoln and London, and Drs. Lee, Sampson and Gardiner. Norfolk, taking advantage of the act passed in convocation, told the queen that Henry was highly displeased at having been cited to appear at Rome, that he would not submit to such an indignity, and that he was absolutely sovereign in his realms both in temporal and spiritual matters, parliament and convocation having admitted him to be so. Catherine stoutly defended her right, and with perfect

June 1, 1531.

good temper battled with the duke and the other counsellors. Many of them were not displeased when she made a happy retort and silenced an adversary, and some one of the party exclaimed that though they laboured a good deal a woman got the better of them. After a time the conference was broken up, the comptroller Guildford declaring that all those doctors who had first mooted the question of the divorce should be sent to Rome to defend their opinion, or to be treated according to their merits.[1] CHAP. IV.

Neither Anne nor Cromwell seem to have expected any other result. The former, who, about the new year, had thought that her purpose might shortly be accomplished, had after the indecisive action of convocation and parliament lost confidence in most of the leaders of her party. Cromwell appears to have been unwilling to argue the matter with Catherine, and he is afterwards mentioned by Chapuis as the only councillor who did not take part in the long discussions about the validity of her marriage.

Anne profits by Henry's anger.

But, although neither Anne nor her ally were astonished at the result of the interview, Anne wished to profit by Henry's resentment. The first whom she attacked was the outspoken comptroller. She had high words with him, threatening that he should be dismissed when she became queen. Guildford, disgusted by her insolence, went at once to Henry, and resigned his appointment. He

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., June 6, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 47.

CHAP. IV

perhaps expected that the king would make Lady Anne retract, but he was mistaken; Henry only asked him to remain in office. As, under the circumstances, Guildford could scarcely do this, he insisted on having his leave,[1] and it was granted; Sir William Paulett, a more obedient courtier, being appointed in his place. Of the other friends of Catherine, the Duchess of Norfolk, who had not been civil enough to the favourite,[2] had been sent away from court some weeks before; and the Marquis of Exeter was now also ordered to leave.[3] By these means Anne hoped effectually to silence all who spoke against the divorce and in favour of the queen.

Anne made even better use than this of Henry's annoyance at what he considered the obstinacy of Catherine. Whenever the king and the queen met, neither of them being very refined, they freely quarrelled about the question whether they were

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., June 6, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 47.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., May 14, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 43: "A lappetit aussi de la dicte dame la duchesse de Norphoc a este envoyee en sa maison pour ce quelle parloit trop liberallement et se declayroit plus quilz ne vouloint pour la Royne."

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., July 17, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 55: "Le jeune Marquis a eu deffense de non se trouver en court de quelque temps pour ce quil a ete charge de fere assemblee de gens en cornouallies et au pays de lenviron, la Royne croit que ce soit invention de la dame pour ce que le dict Marquis luy est tant serviteur." Both M. de Gayangos and Mr. Gairdner think that the "young Marquis" is the Marquis of Dorset; but it is quite clear from other letters of Chapuis that the Marquis of Exeter is meant.

married or not, and the result generally was that Henry left the field entirely cowed. Anne might upbraid him for his want of courage, but on the next occasion the same thing would happen,[1] for the firmness, courage, and perfect good temper of Catherine had not yet lost their power over Henry's weak and vacillating mind. Besides, Catherine had a great advantage over Anne in the force of habit. Kings and queens at that time, with all their show and state, were much more of goodman and goodwife than is commonly imagined. A queen had a good deal to do with housekeeping, and rendered the king many little services which nowadays any fine lady would think beneath her dignity. Catherine took care of her husband's wardrobe, looked after the laundry, and superintended the making of his linen. Henry, accustomed to apply to her when he wanted anything in daily use, continued to do so, and she did her best to provide for his needs.[2] There were sharp quarrels about this between Henry and Anne, but it was certain that there would be no change as long as Catherine resided with the king. Anne had tried as much as possible to separate them by leading Henry away on hunting excursions, but these could not last for ever; he had to rejoin his court, and at court he found the queen. One of the principal reasons why Anne was so pleased with York Place was, as we have seen, that there would be no apartment in it for

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., October 8 and December 6, 1529, Vienna Archives, P.C. 225, i. Nos. 22 and 28.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., June 15, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 54.

CHAP. IV. Catherine ;[1] and, indeed, when Henry went there, the queen was left behind at Greenwich.[2] But the court was seldom in London ; and at Greenwich, Hampton Court, and Windsor, there was plenty of room for Catherine. Anne therefore wished to have her sent away from court, and by stimulating the anger of Henry she managed to obtain her object.

On Whitsunday the king and the queen dined together, and Henry, being in an unusually amiable mood, spoke in terms of affection of his daughter the princess. Next day, made bold by his seeming good temper, Catherine expressed a wish that Mary might be allowed to come to court. He received the request very badly, and answered that if Catherine wished to see her daughter she might go to the place where Mary was, and remain there as long as she liked. This would have been the beginning of a separation, for although Henry lacked the courage to send his wife away, he would have found means to prevent her return if she had once left. Catherine saw the snare, and meekly replied that for nobody in the world would she leave his company; and with this the incident came to an end.[3]

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., May 14, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 43.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., November 8, 1529, Vienna Archives, P.C. 225, i. No. 24.

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., May 14, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 43: "Sire disnant ces jours le Roy avec la Royne que il a accoutume la pluspart des festes il entra a parler des treves . . . et apres tombant en propos de la princesse yl accusa la Royne de cruaute a cause quelle navoit faict continuellement resider son medecin aupres de la dicte princesse et ainsy fust icelluy disne rempli dhumanite et de bonnayrete. Le

In June the court went to Hampton Court; and Henry, as was his custom at this season of the year, spent some time in hunting in his parks. The queen was not allowed to accompany him, as she had always done hitherto; he was attended only by Lady Anne and a few favourite servants.[1] About the middle of July, while Catherine remained at Windsor,[2] Henry and Anne started on a longer excursion than any they had yet undertaken together. A month after they had gone, the queen received a message to the effect that Henry wished to return to Windsor and objected to see her, and that she was to retire with her servants to the More, a house the Abbot of St. Alban's had been made to cede to the king.[3] Catherine had no alternative but to obey; and a few days later Anne Boleyn made her entry as the future queen.

Catherine banished from court.

This was certainly a great triumph, for not only

lendemain que cela fust advenu la Royne sur confiance desdictz gracieux propos requit au Roy vouloir permettre que ladicte princesse les vint veoir, laquelle requeste il rebroua assez rudement et luy dit quelle pouveoit aller veoir ladicte princesse si elle vouloit et y demourer aussy. A quoy tres prudemment et gracieusement luy repondit la Royne que ne pour fille ne pour autre personne du monde elle ne vouleoit eslougnier sa compaignie et a tant demeura icelle practique."

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., June 24, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 53: "N'ayant en sa compaignie que la dame, le grant escuyer et deux autres et y a pres de quinze jours quil na faict autre."

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., July 17, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 55.

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., August 19, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 61.

CHAP. IV.

was a dangerous influence removed, but Henry's vanity and obstinacy were now engaged, and it had been made more difficult for him to draw back. Anne tried also to strengthen her cause by securing for her adherents nearly every vacancy which occurred at court, in the administration, and in diplomacy. Stokesley, a prominent advocate of the divorce, had been duly installed Bishop of London, Gardiner had become Bishop of Winchester, and the archbishopric of York, which Reginald Pole had just refused, was given to Dr. Edward Lee, one of Anne's most zealous supporters. Dr. Foxe, formerly Gardiner's colleague at Rome, was made almoner instead of Lee. Sir Francis Bryan, Anne's cousin and friend, was ambassador in Paris; and Sir Nicholas Carew, who had married Bryan's sister, was sent on special missions first to the emperor and then to France. Sir Nicholas Harvey, whose wife (widow of Sir Richard Wingfield) was much liked by Anne, had been appointed ambassador at the court of the emperor;[1] and when he was considered unfit for the post, Sir Thomas Elyot, who, after the downfall of Wolsey, had attached himself to Anne, was nominated in his stead.[2]

Untrustworthiness of Anne's friends.

But there was one annoying circumstance: the new bishops, as soon as they were installed, became much less ardent in their zeal for the divorce. The lay officials also cooled down. When Sir Nicholas Carew was at the imperial court, both he and his

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., June 10, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 52.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 10, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 63.

colleague, Doctor Richard Sampson, dean of the chapel, had secret audiences with the emperor, and assured Charles that they greatly regretted the demand for a divorce, and that they would do all they could to resist it, and to serve the queen.[1] Sir Thomas Elyot, too, soon became a strong opponent of the divorce, and even wrote a treatise against it which he showed to the king, and a copy of which he sent to Spain.[2] Dr. William Bennet, one of the principal agents at the papal court, secretly assured the emperor that, if no weakness were shown, Henry would give way and plead his cause at Rome.[3] When on leave in England, Bennet wrote to Catherine to express his devotion to her. Whatever he had done against her, he said, he had been forced to do; and he predicted that if she remained firm she would ultimately succeed.[4] There is good reason to believe that Bennet acted as he spoke, and that at Rome, while officially and publicly pressing for a divorce, he

CHAP. IV.

[1] Charles V. to E. Chapuis, March 14, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, ii. fol. 19: "Le grand escuyer et doyen nous ont parle chascun deulx particulierement demonstrans avoir gros regret de la poursuite que le dict Sr. Roy faict contre nostre dicte tante et quilz desireroient dy pouvoir faire service et davantaige ma dict ledict grant escuyer quil vous advertiroit de ce quil pourroit entendre concernant nostre service et celluy de nostre dicte tante. . . ."

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., June 5, and July 11, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fols. 42 and 50.

[3] Charles V. to Chapuis, May 11, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, ii. fol. 35: "Que le Roy dangleterre . . . se condescendroit a ce que laffaire soit connue et videe a Rome."

[4] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 4, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 1.

CHAP. IV.

privately let the Pope know that in his opinion it ought not to be granted, that the cause ought to be tried at Rome, and that the decision should be in favour of Catherine.[1]

This secret or open hostility of most of the courtiers and officials made it hard for Anne to obtain any decided advantage over her enemies. Her fight was a weary one, something like the work of the Danaïdes, and in the autumn of 1531, scarcely any progress had been made.

Charles V. and the divorce.

Henry would have liked to disregard papal inhibitions, to obtain some pretence of divorce in England, and to marry Anne immediately afterwards. But there were several difficulties in the way. First of all, Charles V. had so warmly taken up the cause of his aunt that if such a course were adopted he might proceed to acts of open hostility. And Henry, however much he might boast of his power, knew very well that single-handed he could not withstand the emperor. If war broke out, a Dutch fleet would land a body of Spanish and German veterans on the eastern coast, and Henry would have no troops capable of opposing them. His raw, probably disaffected levies, would be scattered like chaff before the wind, and the crown would be torn from his brow. If he wished to pursue a bold policy, it was indispensable that he should conclude an alliance with France; and the tone of the French ministers had not of late been such as

[1] Micer Mai to Charles V., February 29, 1532, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,584, fol. 206.

to reassure him. Jean Joaquin had shown no favour to religious innovations, and had occasionally behaved with something like contempt towards the king; while in France Sir Francis Bryan, and Foxe, who had been sent to assist Bryan, thought they had some reason to complain of the French. CHAP. IV.

Henry, therefore, before proceeding further, wished to make sure that King Francis would not fail him at the proper time. The new Bishop of Winchester was sent to France to take the place of Bryan and to negotiate a treaty of closer alliance.[1] He was well received, and de la Pommeraye, who had succeeded Jean Joaquin as ambassador in England, was instructed to discuss the conditions. After some haggling as to the terms a treaty was signed at Greenwich in April, 1532, by de la Pommeraye on the part of France, and by the Earl of Wiltshire and Dr. Foxe on the part of England.[2]

Treaty with France.

In the new treaty it was stipulated that if the emperor attacked England Francis should assist Henry with 500 lances and a fleet mounted by 1,500 men, and that if France was attacked Henry should send 5,000 archers and a similar fleet to the assistance of the French king. The stipulation in favour of England was wholly illusory; for if Charles had invaded England, he would have done so with such rapidity that the French fleet would not have had time to arrive. The 500 lances might have served to defend Calais, but the war would have been decided

[1] Francis I. to Mr. de la Pommeraye, January 13, 1532, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. vol. 4126, fol. 5.

[2] Camusat, *Meslanges historiques*, ii. fols. 84—88.

CHAP. IV. before they could have reached England. On the other hand, the English fleet and the 5,000 archers might have been of some use to France in a regular campaign of four or five months. There was, moreover, this point, which had been overlooked by those who in England wished for the treaty, that it bound Francis to do less than it would have been his interest to do in any case. If Charles had overthrown the government of Henry, Catherine would have governed for Mary, and England would have sided with the emperor against France. Francis could not have allowed this, so that, treaty or no treaty, in case of attack, he would have done his best to assist Henry against Charles. In the end England would not have profited by the intervention of France, for on account of Calais the French were at heart hostile to the English, and had Francis overthrown the emperor he would soon have turned against Henry.

But the French influence was now paramount at court. The sympathies of Anne were all in favour of the land in which she had been brought up. The Duke of Norfolk was a strong partisan of France, and Cromwell had not yet sufficient authority to control foreign policy. Henry, himself but a poor politician, ascribed undue importance to the treaty, and on the 30th of April he ratified the act of his commissioners.[1]

Assembling of Parliament.

While the treaty was being negotiated, attempts were made by ministers to organise their forces. Parliament had met on the 15th of January. It had been carefully convoked, most of the queen's

[1] Camusat, *Meslanges historiques*, ii. fol. 88.

partisans having either been excused from attending or having received no writ at all. Tunstall and Fisher were among the latter. Tunstall stayed away; but Fisher, more courageous, and nearer to London, attended as usual.[1] The bishops who appeared in their places were sounded as to the assistance which might be expected from them; and the great majority were found to be hostile to any measure which might smack of revolt against the authority of Rome. No hope could be entertained of a joint action of the English episcopate in favour of Henry. Another way had to be tried. CHAP. IV.

Archbishop Warham.

If the bishops as a body could not be made to further the king's designs, it seemed possible that their chief and representative, the primate, might be bullied or coaxed into complying with Henry's wishes. It was thought he might be induced to call in a few bishops who could be relied upon, to open a court as primate of all England, to accept in its widest sense the doctrine that the king was the supreme head of the Church of England, to disregard entirely the papal authority and all inhibitory briefs, and to proceed to try the case. Archbishop Warham had acted with Wolsey in the infamous attempt at a collusive suit in 1527; he had continued for several years afterwards most docile to the king; and when he abandoned Henry's side his timidity was in striking contrast with the energy of Fisher. *Ira principis mors est*, he had piteously replied when Catherine had asked

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 22, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 8.

CHAP. IV.

his advice. Not unnaturally, therefore, it was supposed that the king's anger might frighten him once more into obedience.[1]

Norfolk and Wiltshire submitted the matter to him and tried to gain him over.[2] But the utmost limit of Warham's servility had been reached. He was seriously ill, dying in fact, and the inevitable having lost something of its terrors, he dared affront the royal anger although it might be death. He thought of the anger of a greater King before whom he would soon have to appear, and steadfastly declined to associate himself with a dishonourable scheme.

Lay Tribunals.

All spiritual authorities having refused their help, it remained to be seen whether a general consent of the laity might not be obtained. About the middle of February the Duke of Norfolk assembled a number of the leading peers and members of the Lower House, and told them he had been informed that matrimonial causes ought not to be judged by ecclesiastical but by lay tribunals. He wished to know what was their opinion on this subject, and what they would do to preserve the rights of the crown. Lord Darcy, formerly an ally of Norfolk and a bitter enemy of Wolsey, was the first to speak. He flatly contradicted the duke, maintaining that the cognisance of matrimonial causes belonged to the spiritual courts, and that laymen had nothing to do with them. The

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., June 6, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 47.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., February 14, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 15.

other lords sided with Darcy, and the duke's attempt utterly failed.[1] CHAP. IV.

An immediate marriage proposed.

Henry was greatly vexed by Norfolk's failure, and for a moment he thought of marrying Anne at once. She seems to have been willing, and the French ambassador approved of the plan, which (from Henry's point of view) might, after all, have been the wisest.[2] But the council was strongly opposed to it. Anne's father, who was never in favour of a hazardous course, knew that if Henry married his daughter before Catherine was divorced, there would be a general outcry; he feared that the government would be overthrown, and that he would lose everything he had gained by a most laborious and servile life. He spoke, therefore, against an immediate marriage, and Henry, seeing his council unanimous, reluctantly gave way.[3]

From this time there was a growing enmity between Anne and her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, which drove

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., February 14, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 15.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., April 16, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 26. The French ambassador said to Chapuis: "Que si ce Roy avoit envie de soy remarier quil nestoit pas bien conseille de perdre temps et argent a faire tant de poursuites ains a lexemple du Roy Loys devrait sans autre proces expouser celle quil veult."

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., May 29, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 77: "Apres ce il [the Duke of Norfolk] se commenca descharger quil navoit este ne promoteur ne faulteur de ce mariaige ains lavoit tousjours dissuade et neust este luy et le pere delle, que contrefit le malade et le frenetique pour avoir meilleur moyen de contredire, ce mariaige se fust fait il y a ung an passe, dont la dame fust fort indignee et contre lung et contre lautre."

CHAP. IV.

him at last into the camp of her enemies. She was offended with her father, too; and sharp taunts which passed between them led to a complete estrangement.[1]

The clergy again attacked.

Although an immediate marriage was impossible, there was nothing to prevent Anne and Cromwell from preparing the ground for further action. They wished to deprive the church of the last remnants of independence, and the end of the session was marked by an energetic attack on its privileges. Convocation was pressed by the royal ministers to declare that the clergy had no right to make ordinances in provincial councils without the royal assent. Gardiner, now installed Bishop of Winchester, argued strongly against the declaration, but all to no avail; convocation had to give way, and to admit that provincial ordinances and canons should be revised by a royal commission.[2] Warham was indignant at the injury done to his order, and from his bed he dictated a formal protest against all encroachments on the ecclesiastical power, asserting that he would not allow

Warham's protest.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., May 29, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 77: "Puis huict jours ayant la dame print une piece comme font icy les femmes ensainctes pour supplir aux robes que se trouvent tropt estroites son dict pere luy dict quil falloyt louher et regracier dieu de la veoer en tel estat, et elle en lieu de merciement en presence des ducz de Norphoc et Sufforc et du tresourier de lhostel respondit quelle estoit en meilleur estat quil neust voulu."

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., May 13, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 32: "Le chancelier et les evesques contrarient ce quilz peuvent de quoy le Roy est tres indigne especiallement contre le dict chancellier et levesque de Vuinchestre et sobstine fort le Roy de fere passer la chose;" and Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. i. part i. p. 130.

himself to be bound by any statute or agreement, and claiming the whole of his episcopal authority.[1] This made it very difficult for Henry to bring his case before a tribunal appointed by himself, for although he might refuse to appear at Rome, he could not with any show of reason deny that the archbishops had hitherto exercised the functions for which Warham contended. Henry himself had so often asserted that the matter of the divorce ought to be tried by the primate that it was impossible for him now to take up a different position. CHAP. IV.

Warham might have been put on his trial for some imaginary offence; but this would have created an immense scandal, and the difficulties of the divorce would only have been increased. Besides, fear of worldly consequences had no influence over a dying man. Nothing, therefore, could be done, and matters remained in suspense.

An intrigue against Anne.

This was most annoying to Anne, for every delay became the occasion of fresh complications. During the summer an intrigue was spun against her, which, if it had succeeded, would have stopped her further career. Her former admirer, Sir Henry Percy, who had now become Earl of Northumberland, had married Lady Mary Talbot, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury. The marriage had not been happy, the wayward and violent young earl having soon quarrelled with his wife; and for the last two years he had abstained from her company. Being questioned by her as to the cause of his behaviour,

[1] Protestation of Archbishop Warham, February 24, 1532, Burnet, *Collectanea*, part iii. book ii. No. xxv.

CHAP. IV. he replied that he was not her husband, that he had long ago been betrothed to Anne Boleyn, and that in consequence of this pre-contract any subsequent marriage was illegal. The countess fancied that this statement afforded her a chance of obtaining release from one with whom she had led an unhappy life, and that it would be an obstacle to the marriage of the king and Anne. She wrote to her father giving her account of what the earl had said, and asking that the matter should be laid before the king. But Lord Shrewsbury, though an enemy of Anne, was a cautious man. Had he done as his daughter desired, he would not have gained much; the letter would have been at once communicated to Anne, who would have found means to defend herself. It was accordingly taken to the Duke of Norfolk, by whom it was handed to his niece.

Anne at once chose the boldest course. She showed the letter to the king, and insisted that the affair should be investigated. At her request Northumberland was sent for and strictly examined. Whatever the young earl might have said in a fit of passion to his wife, he was not the man to abide by it in cold blood. He knew that for having concealed a fact so closely affecting the king's honour he might almost be charged with treason, and that if, by revealing it now, he rendered the marriage of Anne and Henry nearly impossible, he would draw on himself the hatred both of the king and of the lady. Before the council he denied that any pre-contract existed between him and Anne, and this statement he solemnly repeated before the Archbishop

of Canterbury.[1] Anne had once more defeated the plots of her enemies.

Death of Warham.

The hearing of the earl's deposition was the last important act of Warham's life. He was far advanced in age, and his strength had for some time been failing. The difficulties of his position, the profound alarm and displeasure he felt at the turn things were taking, preyed heavily on his mind. His body was not able to bear the strain any longer, and on the 23rd of August he died.

August 23, 1532.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., July 22, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iv. fol. 57; and Earl of Northumberland to Cromwell, May 13, 1536, Burnet, *Collectanea*, part iii. book iii. No. 49.

CHAPTER V.

THE MARRIAGE.

CHAP. V.

THE death of Warham removed the chief obstacle in the way of Anne. The stubborn resistance of the primate during the last year had hampered her efforts, and had made it impossible to obtain a divorce in England. Now this difficulty was at an end. It was Henry's duty to choose Warham's successor, and he would of course appoint a man certain to do his bidding. The new primate, when installed, would be ordered to open a court and to hear the cause, and immediately after the decision Henry would publicly marry Anne.

Anne's patent and its significance.

September 1, 1532.

On the 1st of September, eight days after Warham's death, the courtiers were treated to a ceremony of a rather extraordinary kind. Lady Anne Rochford was on that day created Marchioness of Pembroke with remainder to the heirs male of her body. The words "lawfully begotten," which were generally inserted in patents of creation, were significantly left out; any illegitimate son whom Anne might have, would be entitled to the dignity.[1] A thousand

[1] Order of the Ceremony, Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. v. p. 522; and Patent of Creation, September 1, 1532, *Ibid.* p. 585.

pounds in lands were at the same time settled on the new marchioness, and a few days later she received a present of jewels taken by royal command from the queen.[1] CHAP. V.

What was the reason for this extraordinary step? There seems to be but one explanation. Hitherto Anne, uncertain how long it would take to obtain a divorce, had feared that if she yielded to the king, his passion might cool before she could become his wife. After the death of Warham there was less reason to dread this result, and it is highly probable that having obtained a promise that the new archbishop would forthwith pronounce a divorce, she became the king's mistress. But even now she was cautious, and to provide against the worst, against any unforeseen event that might prevent her marriage, she asked for a title for herself and any illegitimate son she might bear, and for a grant of lands and jewels. No other theory will account for all the circumstances—the curious wording of the patent, the promotion of Anne immediately after Warham's death, the nomination of Cranmer, and the premature birth of Elizabeth.

Henry proposes an interview with Francis I.

The lovers were not to spend their honeymoon in perfect quiet. Henry, who always attached too much importance to mere professions of friendship, had expressed a wish to confirm the alliance between England and France by an interview with Francis.[2]

[1] Grant of Annuity, Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. v. p. 585; and E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 5, and October 1, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fols. 57 and 63.

[2] Francis I. to Giles de la Pommeraye, January 13, and

CHAP. V.

Remembering the costliness of the famous meeting of 1520, and the bad results which had sprung from it, Francis was not very eager to grant the request; but Henry was pressing, and in the summer of 1532 de la Pommeraye, at his solicitation, went to France to arrange the conditions of an interview.[1] On de la Pommeraye's return in June the King of England surrendered one after another certain ridiculous pretensions on which he had at first insisted; and the Duke of Norfolk assured de la Pommeraye that Francis should be treated throughout as the superior.[2] It was agreed that in October the two kings should meet at Boulogne and Calais, that no exorbitant display should be made, and that the number of their attendants should be limited.[3] Francis, having no longer any pretext for declining the proposal, ratified what his ambassador had done, but asked that the agreement should be kept secret until the very eve of the meeting, so that it might appear to happen by mere chance. This, however, would not have served the King of England, and scarcely had the convention been concluded when the

June, 1532.

September 15, 1532 (the latter wrongly dated 1531), Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. 4126, fols. 2 and 5.

[1] Giles de la Pommeraye to the Bishop of Auxerre, June 21, 1532, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 547, fol. 93; and E. Chapuis to Charles V., May 13, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 32.

[2] Giles de la Pommeraye to A. de Montmorency, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. vol. 3094, fol. 145.

[3] G. du Bellay to A. de Montmorency, September 10, 1532; and "Ordo observandus in conventu. . . ." Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 547, fols. 133 and 135.

secret was allowed to leak out. During August it became generally known in London.[1] CHAP. V.

Henry wished to take Anne with him to meet his royal brother of France, first, because he now found it very hard to be deprived of her company even for a few days, secondly, because he hoped that Francis might be brought to treat her as a person who was shortly to be the Queen of England, whereby a certain sanction would be given to the divorce. De la Pommeraye was asked to obtain an invitation for her from France, and wrote to Montmorency explaining the king's wishes.[2] Guillaume du Bellay (brother to Jean, Bishop of Bayonne) was now sent to England to arrange the details of the meeting; and, in reply to de la Pommeraye's suggestion, he brought a message for Henry which was capable of being interpreted as an invitation for Anne.[3] *September 4, 1532.*

Thereupon, early in September, privy seals were sent out to a number of Lords to hold their wives in readiness to accompany the king's cousin, the Marchioness of Pembroke, whom King Francis had

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., July 29 and August 9, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 52, and P.C. 227, iv. fol. 60.

[2] G. de la Pommeraye to A. de Montmorency, July 23, 1532, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. vol. 3003, fol. 23. This letter has been ascribed by Legrand (vol. iii. p. 553), by Mr. Froude, and by Mr. Gairdner to Jean du Bellay. But by a comparison with the postscript to the paper in vol. 3094, fol. 145, which is a holograph, it clearly appears that the letter must have been written by de la Pommeraye. The copy at Paris is dated July 23, while Legrand prints July 21.

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 15, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 61.

CHAP. V.

invited to be present at the meeting.[1] These messages were received with much indignation; nevertheless, as disobedience might have proved dangerous, Anne would certainly not have lacked attendance had not a new difficulty arisen.

Who shall meet Anne?

Francis had been quite willing that Anne should be brought to Calais or even to Boulogne. But when Henry had desired that the new marchioness should be met by some French lady of high rank, Francis had not shown the same readiness. The Queen of France was out of the question, for in outward things her husband retained some of the manners of a gentleman, and he would not ask her to meet the mistress of Henry—he would not oblige Leonor to greet the woman who was conspiring against the happiness of her aunt. But, Henry had suggested, might not Marguerite, the king's sister and titular Queen of Navarre, be induced to attend? She was known to be hostile to the emperor, who kept her husband out of the kingdom to which he pretended, and she belonged to that party in France which showed most enmity to the pretensions of Rome.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 15, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 61: "Et davantaige a eu charge le dict Langey de prier et requerer de la mesme part ce Roy de vouloir mesner et conduire dela de la mer en sa compaignie la nouvelle marquise. Syl na eust telle charge yl souffist que le dict ambassadeur le donne ainsy dentendre et quil avoue le Roy, lequel a dernierement escript a plusieurs seigneurs quilz tinssent prestes et en ordre leur femme pour accompaigner sa tres chiere et tres aymee cousine la Marquise de Pembrot laquelle a la priere de son bon frere et perpetuel allie le Roy de France il a de mesner a cette assemblee."

But Marguerite—although an enemy to emperor and to pope—objected to the divorce. She had some generous feelings, and had spoken strongly of the shameful way in which votes had been obtained for Henry.[1] She refused to go, and Francis does not seem to have been very anxious to overcome her reluctance. When de la Pommeraye brought this unwelcome message, he added that the Duchess of Vendôme might receive Lady Pembroke; but Anne was too well informed as to French court scandal not to know that the good duchess, the worthy mother of Antoine de Bourbon and grandmother of the king "vertgalant," had led the gayest and not the most irreproachable of lives. Her court was still anything but strict in morals, and had it been decided that she, of all the princesses of France, should accompany Francis, Anne, instead of being honoured, would have been made ridiculous. So Henry in his turn objected to Madame de Vendôme, and Anne preferred not to be met by anybody.[2] The ladies by whom she was to have been accompanied were released from the obligation to attend her.

[1] Dr. Ortiz to the Empress, February 7, 1533, British Museum, Add. MSS. vol. 28,586, fol. 217.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., October 1, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. 63. Carew sent word to Chapuis: "Et davantaige que ce roy nestoit pas tropt content a cause que lon luy avoit donne quelque fumiere et espoir que le Roy de France meneroit avec luy en contrecharge de la dame sa sueur madame delanson et que maintenant ilz disoient quelle estoit malade et que en son lieu se trouveroit Madame de Vandosme de quoy ceulx cy ne se contentent disant que comme la dicte Dame de Vandosme a ete autreffois bonne compagne quelle aura quelque compagnie correspondente au temps passe et de male reputacion, que sera une honte et injure pour les dames de pardeca."

CHAP. V.

Dissatisfaction of English nobles.

As the time for the proposed meeting approached, the temper of the English nobles did not improve. A French alliance was very unpopular, and it was feared that if the conference took place the country might be dragged into unprofitable wars. The nobles knew also that attendance on the king would involve considerable expenditure, for, notwithstanding the sensible message of Francis as to simplicity and economy, Henry wanted his followers to make a fine display. And for all this they expected to get nothing but French sneers.[1] All the courtiers with the exception of the Boleyn fraction were, therefore, violently hostile to the meeting; and the Duke of Suffolk—although he was a pensioner and partisan of France—dared even now to remonstrate with the king. Being rewarded for his pains by a volley of abuse,[2] he went to his country seat, determined, if possible, to be late in his preparations and to miss the time for the interview.[3] Lord Oxford, the high chamberlain, more prudently expressed his ill humour in conversation with his friends, asserting that the whole matter had been brewed between the king, Anne, and de la Pommeraye, to the total exclusion of the council.[4] Sir Nicholas Carew, who was sent over to France to hasten the arrival of Francis, was heard swearing that

[1] G. de la Pommeraye to A. de Montmorency, July 23, 1532, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Fr. vol. 3003, fol. 23.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 5, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 57.

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 15, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C., iii. fol. 61.

[4] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 5, 1532, *loc. cit.*

if it lay with him he would rather do his best to prevent the accomplishment of the scheme.[1] But all was of no avail; Henry had gone too far to draw back, and Anne had set her heart on the meeting.

In the beginning of October the royal party set out, going by river to Gravesend and then proceeding to a house of Sir Thomas Cheyne, the king's favourite and a great friend of Anne.[2] After a few days they went by land to Dover, and on the 11th they arrived at Calais.[3] Here they heard of the arrival of Francis at Boulogne on the 19th, and on Monday the 21st Henry rode out from Calais to meet his royal brother of France.[4]

October 11, 1532.

October 21, 1532.

Notwithstanding the reluctance of the English courtiers, Henry's train presented a brave show as it wound its way towards the French frontier, and at any other time the king might have felt elated by it. But at this moment the person he would have liked most to have at his side was wanting. The French had proved firm; no princess had come to Boulogne to greet the Marchioness of Pembroke, and under these circumstances Anne herself had not wished to accompany the king. Riding out to meet

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., October 1, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 63.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., October 1, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 63.

[3] *Chronicle of Calais*, printed for the Camden Society, p. 41; and Peter Ligham to Bishop Fisher, October 12, 1532, Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. v. p. 600.

[4] Account of the meeting at Boulogne, Camusat, *Meslanges*, ii. fol. 106.

CHAP. V.

Francis, therefore, Henry smarted under a double injury; the honour he had wished to be shown to Anne had been refused to her, and he himself was about to be deprived of her company for three days. He had become so accustomed to her presence that he could scarcely bear to be away from her even for one day.

Meeting of Francis and Henry.

Francis, though firm on this point, was most obliging in every other respect. At the limit of his territory he stood ready to receive his guest, and when Henry arrived, they embraced tenderly, and after prolonged demonstrations of mutual affection rode together towards Boulogne. According to the promise made by Norfolk to de la Pommeraye, Henry was going to ride at the left of the French king; but Francis, having obtained this acknowledgment of his superior rank, desired to show all courtesy to his guest and insisted on giving him the place of honour.[1] At Boulogne the King of England was splendidly entertained for three days; and he tried to gain Francis and the French courtiers over to his views by studied amiability and liberality. With the greatest of the French noblemen he played at cards or dice, and he was careful to lose considerable sums.[2] To Montmorency, Chabot Brion, Cardinal du Prat, Jean du Bellay and Jean Joaquin de Vaulx, he offered pensions, the full value of which Francis allowed

[1] Account of the meeting at Boulogne, Camusat, *Meslanges*, i. fol. 106.

[2] Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII., British Museum, Add. MSS. 20,030; and Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. v. pp. 760 and 761.

them to accept, although he would not permit them to receive regular annual payments.[1] On others Henry bestowed costly jewels or chains of gold, and when the sons of Francis came to visit him at his house he made them a present of the bonds their father had signed to obtain money for their release from Spain.[2]

October 25, 1532. On Friday, the 25th, the two kings went together to Calais, where Francis was to return the visit paid to him. On his arrival he sent the provost of Paris to Anne with a valuable jewel, which he begged her to accept.[3] *October 27, 1532.* On Sunday, when Francis had supped with Henry, some masked ladies came in and began to dance with the French king and his courtiers. After a short space the ladies took off their visors, when it appeared that Anne was among them.[4] Whatever mortification she may have felt, she was too clever to show it; and Francis did his best to make her forget that she had been slighted. Anne's natural sympathies being in favour of France, they were soon on very good terms, and they had a long political conversation in which the

[1] Accounts of R. Fowler, November 1, 1532, R.O. Henry VIII. Box N; and Permission granted by Francis I. to Cardinal Duprat, A. de Montmorency, and Ph. de Chabot Brion, March 18, 1534, Paris, Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal, Registres Conrart, vol. xv.

[2] Account of the meeting at Boulogne, Camusat, *Meslanges*, ii. fol. 108.

[3] Account of the meeting at Boulogne, Camusat, *Meslanges*, ii. fol. 108.

[4] Wynkin de Worde, *The Manner of the Tryumphe.* Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. v. p. 624.

CHAP. V.

French king made all kinds of vague promises.[1] "Good reasons," Chapuis remarks, "the King of France had for it, for the lady serves him better than Wolsey ever did, without asking for 25,000 ducats a year."[2] So the three days at Calais passed pleasantly enough, and when, on Tuesday the 29th, Francis took his leave, Henry upon the whole felt satisfied with the result of the meeting. The French king rode that day to Boulogne, and after a short stay went to Amiens to fulfil some of the obligations he had undertaken at Calais. Henry and Anne were detained by contrary winds, and could not cross until the 13th of November.[3] They spent a few days at Dover, and proceeding by slow stages arrived on the 24th at Eltham.[4]

October 29, 1532.

November 13, 1532.

Results of the meeting.

During the interview, a treaty of alliance had been concluded against the Turks, so worded that in case of any real danger from Soliman it would have been of no effect whatever.[5] But, besides this, Francis had assented to some measures for the special benefit of Henry. The two French Cardinals of Tournon and of Gramont were to be sent to Bologna, where Clement was once more to meet the emperor. They were, if possible, to prevent the pope from going too

[1] J. de Dinteville to A. de Montmorency, November 7, 1533, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 547, fol. 276.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 15, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 61.

[3] *Chronicle of Calais*, p. 44.

[4] E. Chapuis to Charles V., November 26, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 71.

[5] Treaty of October 28, 1532, Camusat, *Meslanges*, ii. fol. 109.

far in favour of Charles, and to propose a meeting between Clement and Francis. They were also to dissuade the pope from taking vigorous measures against Henry, and to represent to him that if he procrastinated, he might arrange everything to his satisfaction at the interview with Francis, to which the king of England would send an ambassador with full power.[1] To make the pope more pliant, a proposal of marriage between his niece, Catherine dei Medici, and a son of Francis, was again to be put forward.

Henry saw in all this a proof of the friendship and regard Francis felt for him; and the words of the French king had strengthened his confidence. Francis had been most courteous, and had professed unalterable love for his good brother of England, by whom he had promised to stand in every emergency.[2] He had repeated the advice given long ago through du Bellay, that Henry should marry Anne without further ado, and afterwards defend his cause at Rome or elsewhere.[3] The pope, he had said, pressed as he was by the emperor, could not authorise beforehand the measures on which Henry was bent; but if the step were taken, he might accede to it as a thing past remedy. Charles himself would perhaps become less hostile, and if not, Francis would throw all his influence into the scale and neutralise the action of the emperor.

[1] Instructions to the Cardinals of Tournon and of Gramont, November 13, 1532, Camusat, *Meslanges Historiques*, ii. fol. 114.

[2] Instructions to Lord Rochford, *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 429.

[3] J. Hanart to E. Chapuis, January 18, 1533, Vienna

CHAP. V.

The fair speeches of Francis made a great impression on Henry's mind. Whatever distrust may have been excited by the French was now overcome; he took courage to proceed more vigorously, and without regard for the emperor. He was carried so far by his belief in the fine phrases of Francis that from being indecisive and timid he became over-eager and too self-reliant.

Thomas Cranmer.

Anne profited by this change in Henry's temper, and she was ably helped by Cromwell and by his agents. She had already gained a most important point, the nomination of a primate on whose absolute servility she might rely. Thomas Cranmer, who was chosen to succeed Warham in the see of Canterbury, had studied divinity at Cambridge, but had married and had been obliged to leave his college. His wife having died, he had taken holy orders, had returned to his college, and had been made lecturer on divinity. When the question of the divorce was raised he sided with the king and Anne, and was rewarded by being made chaplain to Lord Rochford, Anne Boleyn's father.[1] He soon exchanged the service of the Boleyns for that of the king, and in January 1530, being then one of the royal chaplains, he was chosen to accompany his former patron, now Earl of Wiltshire, to Bologna.[2]

January, 1530.

Archives, P.C. 228, ii. fol. 17; and Instructions to Lord Rochford, *loc. cit.*

[1] Catherine of Aragon's Appeal to the Pope, from Ampthill (no date), Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, ii. fol. 61.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 20, 1530, Vienna Archives, P.C. 226, i. fol. 15; and Accounts of Sir Bryan Tuke, Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. v. p. 317.

CHAP. V.

On the return of the earl, Cranmer remained in Italy to collect opinions in favour of the divorce and to assist the English ambassadors at Rome.[1] Towards the end of the year he went back to England, where *December*, 1530. shortly afterwards he received, as a reward for his services, the archdeaconry of Taunton. When Henry and Anne became dissatisfied with Sir Thomas Elyot, then ambassador to the emperor, Cranmer was chosen to take his place;[2] and he started in the begin- *January*, 1532. ning of 1532 to rejoin the imperial court, which was then residing in Germany. Besides his official mission he is said to have had a secret one, namely, to try to win over to the king's cause as many German divines and doctors as possible.[3] This he did with considerable zeal but with little success, and he had soon to leave those places where at least a few doctors would have given him a favourable hearing, to

[1] Cranmer to R. Crocke, Pocock, *Records of the Reformation*, No. cxxx.

[2] Henry VIII. to Charles V., January 25, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227.

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 22, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 8: "Lambassadeur que ce roy a advise den voyer resider devers vostre Majeste aulieu de celuy qui est apresent (duquel ceulxcy ne soy contentent, ne scay pourquoy) partira dans peu de jours. Cest ung des docteurs de ceulx que furent a Boulogne avec le comte de Vulchier, duquel et de sa fille il depend entierement. Il a escript en faveur du divorce et est de ceulx qui ont translate en Anglois le livre du Roy. Je doubte quil oseroit bien avoir charge passant par les universites dallemaigne de veoir sil pourroit les tirer a son oppinion, soit lutheriens ou autres;" and E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 30, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 10: "Il plaira Vostre Majeste y faire tenir loeul."

CHAP. V.

attend the court of the emperor, who was preparing to repel the invasion of the Turks.[1] He followed Charles V. first to Vienna and then to Italy, giving piteous descriptions of the ravages committed by the soldiers of both parties and of the dangers he himself had to encounter.[2] At Mantua he met Dr. Nicholas Hawkins, from whom he received the news of his recall.[3] The letter addressed to him to that effect in the beginning of October had not reached him on account of his travels, and he had to be content with taking cognisance of the credentials of his successor Hawkins.[4] On the 18th of November he took leave of Charles, and on the following day left Mantua and hastened back to England.[5]

November 18, 1532.

Cranmer's character.

Both by his character and by his ability Cranmer was eminently fitted to become a useful tool in the hands of Henry and Cromwell. He was now a man of forty-three, rather learned, of ready wit, a good controversialist, and withal elegant, graceful, and insinuating. An admirable deceiver, he possessed the talent of representing the most imfamous deeds in the finest words. In England he had spoken

[1] Cranmer to Henry VIII., September 4, 1532, Strype, *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, Appendix No. ii.

[2] Cranmer to Henry VIII., October 20, 1532, Pocock, *Records of the Reformation*, No. ccxciii.

[3] N. Hawkins to Henry VIII., November 21, 1532, *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 386.

[4] Henry VIII. to Charles V., October 1, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iv. fol. 71.

[5] Charles V. to Henry VIII., November 18, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iv. fol. 76; and N. Hawkins to Henry VIII., November 21, 1532, *loc. cit.*

so strongly in favour of the divorce and against the papal authority that he could scarcely venture to alter his tone; and in the event of his feeling any inclination to do so, it was believed—for his timidity was well known—that he would be easily frightened into any course Henry and Cromwell might prescribe.

The king's hold over Cranmer.

His intellectual ability and the weakness of his moral character were not Cranmer's only titles to preferment. By accepting the archbishopric he would place himself entirely at the mercy of Henry. In Germany, at the house of Osiander, he had made the acquaintance of a young woman by whose charms he had been captivated. His opinions about the celibacy of priests were as vague and shifting as about most other subjects, and as the woman did not object to have a priest for her husband, they went through a ceremony of marriage. Cranmer had not the hardihood to acknowledge publicly what he had done, but it was not so well hidden but that some inkling of it reached Cromwell's spies. No action was taken against the archdeacon; although his marriage was clearly illegal, the matter seems not even to have been mentioned. But it was kept in good remembrance, to be made use of at the proper moment. If Cranmer, after being installed as primate, should feel tempted to follow the example of Lee and Gardiner, should stand up for the rights and independence of the Church and refuse to do the king's bidding, a slight hint might be given to him that bishops could be deprived and punished for incontinence. This would, no doubt, suffice to ensure his immediate submission; but if he held out, Henry might pretend to

CHAP. V.

have just discovered the marriage; and Cranmer, accused of incontinence, sentenced, and deprived, would be sent to the Tower to make way for an archbishop even more pliant, and to serve as a warning to persons disposed to betray the king's confidence.

When a bishopric became vacant, Henry generally waited a year or more before appointing a new bishop, enjoying in the meantime the revenues of the see. But in this case unusual haste was made. A week after Cranmer arrived at the English court in the middle of December, the see of Canterbury was offered to him and was gladly accepted.[1] After the customary forms had been gone through in England, the English ambassadors with Clement VII. were instructed to apply for the bulls confirming his nomination, and that no delay might arise the money necessary for them was lent to Cranmer by the king himself.[2]

Cranmer appointed Archbishop of Canterbury.

January, 1533.

Had either the emperor or the pope been fully aware of the character, opinions, and position of Cranmer, the former would have vigorously opposed the confirmation of his appointment, and Clement might for once have laid aside his complaisance and refused to issue the bulls. But Cranmer at the court of Charles had given ample proof of his talent for deceit. While encouraging Henry to persist in his course, while intriguing with the Protestant doctors to obtain their votes in favour of the divorce, he had with the emperor and the imperial ministers played the part of a man who was at heart wholly opposed

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 29, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 3.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 29, 1533, *loc. cit.*

to the king's policy. He had spoken with so great a show of sincerity that even Granvelle had been misled.[1] Carew and Sampson, Harvey and Eliot—some of them, like Cranmer, former servants of Anne—had, when at the imperial court, been converted into stout opponents of the divorce, and were now rendering valuable service to the cause of Catherine. Why should not the archdeacon of Taunton have been converted too? Why should not his assurances be taken for truth? CHAP. V.

It was in vain that Eustache Chapuis warned the emperor how dangerous a person Cranmer was.[2] His words had no effect: the imperial agents offered no opposition to the issuing of the bulls.

The pope might have been informed by his nuncio as to the intentions of Henry and as to the character of Cranmer, and might of his own authority have raised some objection. But the same clever hypocrisy by which Cranmer had succeeded at the imperial court was practised in England towards de Burgo. One of Henry's ministers (his name is not found in the despatches of Chapuis) suggested to de Burgo a way in which the matter of the divorce might be brought *De Burgo and the divorce.*

[1] N. de Granvelle to E. Chapuis, September 26, 1535, Vienna Archives, P.C. 229½, ii. fol. 48: "Je mesbahys fort des termes estranges que comme lon a entendu du couste de Rome tient larchevesque de Canturbery mesmes en laffaire des Royne et Princesse, actendu que durant le temps quil estoit resident en ceste court il blasmoit mirablement ce que le Roy dangleterre son maistre et ses autres ministres faisoient en laffaire du divorce encontre les dictes Royne et Princesse."

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., February 9, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 8.

CHAP. V.

to an end. If the pope would depute two cardinals to hear the evidence and the pleadings at some neutral place near England, Cambray for instance, Henry would consent to send an ambassador to plead his cause before them.[1]

The nuncio swallowed the bait. Notwithstanding the warnings and protests of Chapuis, he reported the proposal to the pope in a way most favourable to Henry;[2] and his judgment was confirmed by the two French cardinals who had arrived from Amiens. They represented to Clement all the dangers of a schism, and spoke of the strong friendship between Francis and Henry. They promised, too, that everything should be arranged to the pope's satisfaction if he would consent to meet the French king.[3]

January, 1533.

Clement was not indifferent to the warning con-

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 29, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 3.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., February 9, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 8; and Charles V. to E. Chapuis, January 5, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, ii. fol. 23: "N^re Sainct Pere (en grant secret et confidence) nous a faict entendre comment son nonce extant en Angleterre avoit eu propos a quelqung des gens dudict S^r Roy, mesmes de ceulx dont il se fye, que luy avoient declare que si N^re dict Sainct Pere vouloit remettre la connaissance et examen de la cause hors de Rome fust a Cambray ou autre part ailleurs que en Angleterre que le dict Roy pourroit estre induit a soy soubmettre expressement dois maintenant au jugement de sa sainctete."

[3] Instructions to the Cardinals of Tournon and of Gramont, November 13, 1532, Camusat, *Meslanges*, ii. fol. 103; Cardinals of Tournon and of Gramont to Francis I., January 21, 1533, Camusat, *Meslanges*, ii. fol. 23; and François de Dinteville, Bishop of Auxerre, to A. de Montmorency, January 7, 1533, Camusat, *Meslanges*, ii. fol. 117.

veyed by the two cardinals. He had, besides, some reason to believe what de Burgo had written. It had been generally expected that at Boulogne or Calais Henry would protest to the French cardinals and other prelates against the injustice done to him, and that he would marry Anne Boleyn either at Calais or immediately after his return to England.[1] Nothing of the kind had happened; Henry had shown no extraordinary eagerness to discuss his grievances, nor had the new Marchioness of Pembroke received anything like royal or even princely honours. People began, therefore, once more to say that the marquisate had been conferred on Anne instead of, and not as a step towards, the crown, that Henry was getting tired of his mistress, and that he was almost ready to desist from his purpose of marrying her.[2] Clement believed

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., August 9, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iv. fol. 60: "Bien que de quelque autre part lon ma averti que la dicte dame fait tout son effort pour recouvrer dames qui la voysent accompaigner a ceste entrevue et si cela estoit il seroit fort a doubter que pour mieux auctoriser le cas ce Roy la vouldroit esposer en lassistance de lautre;" and E. Chapuis to Charles V., August 26, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 55.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., August 9, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iv. fol. 60: "Je luy (la Pommeraye) demanday si le jeusne duc de Lorraine estoit en court de France pour espouser laisnee fille de France que autreffois luy avoit este promise. Sur ce il demeura ung espace tout pensif. . . . Lesquelz propos joinct la myne dudict ambassadeur me font souspeconner que ce Roy, voyant que ne pour son honneur ne pour la sehurete de son estat ne selon conscience, avec quil se pust separer de la Royne, actendu quil a eu affaire avec la sueur de cestecy, il ne la peut avoir, quil vouldra entendre en la fille de France. Ne scais si les autres seront tant despourveuz de sens quilz voulsissent hazarder une telle princesse en dangier destre desclaree un jour une concubine

CHAP. V.

these reports, so that it naturally seemed to him of no great importance who was to be Archbishop of Canterbury, while he thought it desirable to avoid any conflict which might anger Henry and put English public opinion on his side. Charles V., who was at that time staying with the pope at Bologna, was forced to admit that Clement might be right, and offered no opposition.[1] The warnings of Chapuis were dismissed as the outcome of party spirit, and on the 21st of February Cranmer was proposed in consistory.[2] There was some talk about the fees for the bulls by which the nomination was to be confirmed; but the documents were soon made out, and in the beginning of March they were handed to the English agents.[3]

February 21, 1533.

March, 1533.

The secret marriage.

Delay would have been extremely inconvenient for Anne, because the marquisate of Pembroke had begun to have its natural consequences. In January 1533 she had announced to Henry that she was with child. The news filled the king with joy; the child of course would be a boy, the Prince of Wales for whom he had longed so many years. But alas, no Prince of Wales, if Henry and Anne were not married betimes. If the child were not at least born in lawful wedlock, it

January, 1533.

et adultere. Et maugmente ma dicte suspecon ce que quelqung ma faict entendre quil estoit quelque propoz de envoyer de court la dame avec touteffois grand honneur et reputacion;" and E. Chapuis to Charles V., August 26, 1532, *loc. cit.*

[1] Charles V. to E. Chapuis, January 5, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, ii. fol. 23.

[2] N. Hawkins to Henry VIII., February 22, 1533, *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 425.

[3] *Ibid.*; and Bull of Clement VII., IX. Cal. Martii, anno 1532, Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. vi. p. 190.

would scarcely be rendered legitimate by a subsequent marriage. But a public marriage would overthrow the whole edifice that had been so carefully reared. The bulls for Cranmer would be refused, the divorce would not be pronounced, and the legitimacy of the child would still be doubtful. There was no way out of the difficulty but by a clandestine marriage, and on or about the 25th of January, in presence of a few of the most confidential attendants, the ceremony was performed.[1]

January, 25, 1533.

The priest who officiated.

It is not quite certain who was the priest so servile and so perjured as to officiate on this occasion. Dr. Rowland Lee, the king's chaplain, soon afterwards appointed to the see of Coventry and Lichfield, is generally said to have been the man; but there is no evidence for this, and the evidence which still exists tends the other way. Eustache Chapuis asserts that the priest by whom the ceremony was performed was an Augustinian friar, whom the king rewarded by making him general of the mendicant friars.[2] This description fits perfectly with George Brown, who in the spring of 1533 was prior of Austin Friars in London. In 1534 he became provincial prior of all eremitical bodies in England, and (together with John

[1] Archbishop Cranmer to N. Hawkins, June 17, 1533, *Archæologia Britannica*, vol. xviii. p. 81; E. Chapuis to Charles V., February 23, April 15, and May 10, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fols. 20, 41, and 61; and E. Chapuis to N. de Granvelle, February 23, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, ii. fol. 43. See Appendix, Note D.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 28, 1535, Vienna Archives P.C. 229½, i. fol. 9: "En recompense de ce quil fit loffice a lepousement."

CHAP. V.

Hilsey) was commissioned as visitor general of communities of friars of every order.[1] George Brown was certainly in favour of the divorce, and it was he who on Easter day first prayed for Anne as queen from the pulpit.[2] He subsequently became Archbishop of Dublin, where he showed himself a strong reformer.

April, 1533.

The nuncio.

For a few weeks the secret of Henry and Anne was kept well enough. The nuncio, ignorant of what had taken place, and anxious to bring about a reconciliation, humoured Henry's caprices and allowed himself to be made use of by the king's ministers. Parliament had been called together for the 4th of February; and de Burgo was invited to accompany the king to Westminster on the 8th, and to be present at the opening of the session. Although this was rather contrary to custom, the nuncio dared not refuse. Henry sat on his throne, having on his right the representative of the Holy See, while on his left was the French ambassador.[3] Two days later de Burgo was once more pressed to accompany the king to parliament, and after having done so, he and Dinteville, the new French ambassador, were ostentatiously taken by the Duke of Norfolk and other nobles to the house of Sir William Fitzwilliam, where a banquet had been prepared for them.[4]

February, 8, 1533.

February, 10, 1533.

[1] Patent to G. Browne and J. Hilsey, April 13, 1534, Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. vii. p. 223.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., April 27, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 55.

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., February 9, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 8.

[4] E. Chapuis to Charles V., February 15, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 16.

These demonstrations were not intended only or even chiefly to please de Burgo and the pope, they were rather made for the purpose of misleading the English public as to the policy of the Holy See. The action of the nuncio was pointed to as unmistakable evidence that Clement approved of Henry's course; and this perplexed the king's opponents and took from them their best argument, the fear that the divorce might lead to a schism.[1]

Rising power of Cromwell.

The short time during which this game could still be played was employed in preparing for the coming battle. The chief management of affairs had now passed into the hands of Cromwell. By his ability and energy, and by his zeal in the service of the king and Anne, he had gained the favour of both and had rapidly increased his influence. Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, had vainly tried to oppose him. In the spring of 1531 Sir Thomas with his conservative friends was still strong enough to ward off the blow aimed at the independence of the clergy. But he was already so suspected by the king, and his movements were so closely watched, that he had to ask Chapuis not to come to see him, and not to send him a letter Charles V. had written to him.[2] When in the spring of 1532 further proceedings were taken to limit the power of the bishops and the authority of the Holy See, More stoutly resisted the innovations. Henry, extremely angry, insisted that the bills

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., May 10, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 61.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., April 2, 1531, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 34.

CHAP. V. should pass;[1] and Sir Thomas More, seeing that it was impossible to stem the torrent, handed in his
May 16, 1532. resignation.[2] It was accepted, and on the 16th of May he returned the seals of his office. Thomas Audeley, speaker to the House of Commons, a friend and strong adherent of Cromwell, was chosen to succeed More, but for the moment he was made only keeper of the great seal.[3]

Cromwell, no longer hampered by the opposition of More, filled every vacancy in the royal service with determined adherents of his party. William
July, 1532. Paget, a very able young man, was made secretary to the king and employed on important foreign missions.[4]
May 13, 1532. Richard Riche, a clever lawyer and absolutely unscrupulous, became attorney-general for Wales, and was afterwards preferred to the post of the king's solicitor in England.[5] Other friends and clients of

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., May 13, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 32: "Le chancellier et les evesques contrarient ce quilz peuvent de quoy le Roy est tres indigne especiallement contre ledict chancellier et levesque de Vuinchestre et sobstine fort le Roy de fere passer la chose."

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., May 22, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 36: "Il a rendu les sceaulx se demectant de loffice soubs couleur que son traictement estoit trop petit aussi quil ne pouvoit la peyne. Tout le monde en est bien marry et non sans cause car il ny eu oncques ny aura plus homme de bien en loffice."

[3] Memorandum on the delivery of the great seal, Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. p. 433.

[4] E. Chapuis to Charles V., July 11, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iii. fol. 50.

[5] Patent, May 13, 1532, Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. v. p. 484; and Patent, October 10, 1533, Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. vi. p. 552.

CHAP. V.

Cromwell received minor appointments, and the whole administration was reorganised under his vigorous direction.

In the beginning of 1533 the party of Cromwell and Anne was still further strengthened. Sir Thomas Audeley, having shown himself an obedient and thoroughgoing servant of the king, was rewarded by being raised on the 26th of January to the rank of lord chancellor.[1] Those who showed themselves lax or hostile to the divorce were so constantly watched by Cromwell's agents that they dared not stir. It was about this time that the secretary began to organise that formidable system of espionage by which he afterwards made himself so terrible.

January 26, 1533.

The Boleyns felt sure of success and were more overbearing than ever. Anne herself, although she did not tell people that the marriage had already been performed, talked of it as a thing quite certain to happen within a few weeks; and she already bespoke her future household servants.[2] Lord Wiltshire had hitherto never shown himself very ardent for the divorce, and had for some time been even reckoned among the opponents of it, but now he laid aside his wonted caution. On the 13th of February he said to the Earl of Rutland, whom he happened to meet, that the king would no longer be so timid and patient as he had been, that the marriage with Anne would soon be celebrated, and that it would be

Lord Wiltshire and Lord Rutland. February 13, 1533.

[1] Memorandum on the delivery of the great seal, January 26, 1533, Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. p. 446.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., February 9, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 8.

CHAP. V.

easy by the authority of parliament to silence any one who might disapprove of it. "If this matter is brought forward in the house of peers," he added, "will you, who as a personal relative of the king should adhere to him, think of resisting him?" Rutland tried to escape by giving the answer that had been hit upon by Darcy the year before; but a twelvemonth had changed the state of affairs, and his objection was not allowed to pass. Wiltshire grew very violent, and Rutland, fearing the royal anger, promised to do all that was wanted. But being at heart as opposed to the measure as ever, he sent a message to Chapuis, giving an account of what had happened. The other peers, Rutland said, would probably be treated in the same way, and it could scarcely be hoped that parliament would withstand the royal will.[1]

The spiritual peers.

The spiritual peers, like their lay brethren, were pressed to support the king. Two propositions had been drawn up, setting forth that the marriage between Henry and Catherine had always been illegal and void.[2] These propositions the king

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., February 15, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 208, i. fol. 16.

[2] Propositions enclosed in the letter of Chapuis to Granvelle, February 23, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, ii. fol. 44: "I. Ex attestationibus testium nobilissimorum virorum scriptura etiam tractatus inter ill^mos et potent^mos principes Sere^me Regie M^ti et Clar^me Dñe Catherine parentes conclusi confirmatis atque aliarum allegationum . . . corroboratis, videtur nobis canonica ac legitime fide constare Ill^mum principem Arthurum clarissimam dominam Catherinam predictam carnaliter cognovisse, nec debere judicem quemcumque ex hujusmodi productis aliter pronuntiare,

urged the prelates and doctors to subscribe. Cranmer was quite willing to do so, and asked the other bishops to grant the king's request. But the Archbishop of York and Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, refused to set their hand to the instruments, and their resistance was not for the moment to be overcome.[1] CHAP. V.

Anne's indiscretions.

Though officially the marriage was still a secret, some rumour of it soon began to be circulated. Anne had been unable to hide her exultation at her pregnancy. In the middle of February, in open court, she told the Duke of Norfolk that if she did not find herself with child she would go on a pilgrimage immediately after Easter.[2] A few days later, on the 22nd, she

February, 15, 1533.

February, 22, 1533.

sed oportere eum hujusmodi exhibita considerantem motum animi sui in nostram opinionem inclinare. Ita quidem sentimus et opinamur non obstante juramento predicte dñe Catherine. . . . III. Conclusio est uno ore omnium theologorum quod non valet matrimonium secundum si primum matrimonium erat carnali copula consumatum. Atque ad probandum . . . unde creditur quod clerus anglie vult fateri copulam esse plene probatam, quo admisso statim conveniunt theologi quod matrimonium secundum est invalidum."

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., February 23, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 20; and E. Chapuis to N. de Granvelle, February 23, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, ii. fol. 43.

[2] E. Chapuis to N. de Granvelle, February 23, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, ii. fol. 43: "Mgr. celluy que ma adverty des esposailles du Roy avec sa dame est tel que la Royne ma commande de pouvoir escripre au rapport dicelluy comme delle mesmes. Depuis escripte la lettre de Sa Ma^te^ jen ay parle a ung autre que ma dit quil avoit sentu quelque vent, adjoustant que le Roy avoit este precipite de ce fere tant pour lyer lesleu de Canturbery que pour ce que la dicte dame se treuve grosse ou au moins elle le feindoit ainsi; et semble quelle veult donner entendre au monde

CHAP. V. came out of her apartment into the hall where a large company was assembled. Seeing one of her favourite courtiers (Thomas Wyatt, probably) she abruptly told him that three days ago she had felt such a violent desire to eat apples as she had never felt before, that when she had spoken of it to the king he had said it was a sign that she was with child, but that she had replied it was not. Thereupon she broke into a violent fit of laughter. She may have repented of her indiscretion, for she quickly retired, leaving the courtiers not a little astonished at her speech.[1] The conclusion to which they came was that Anne was either married already or quite sure of being so within a short time.

Towards the end of February, de Burgo could scarcely be ignorant that he had been duped by Henry, and that the king did not really intend to

quelle est ensaincte ou quil est ainsy, car il y a environ huict jours que parlant au Duc de Norphoc en presence de plusieurs elle luy dit quelle vouloit aller incontinent apres pasques a ung pellerinage de nostre dame en cas quelle ne se trouvast ensaincte."

[1] E. Chapuis to N. de Granvelle, February 23, 1533, *loc. cit.*: "Et hier encoires elle se desclayra ung peu plus en avant en plus grande compaignie et sans grands propoz ne raison car ainsy quelle sortoit de sa chambre elle commenca dire a ung quelle ayme bien et lequel le Roy a autreffois chasse de la court pour jalousie delle que puis trois jours en ca elle avoit heu une inextimable et tresauvaige envie de manger des pommes ce que en sa vie ne luy estoit advenu et que le Roy luy avoit dit que sestoit signe quelle devoit estre grosse et quelle luy avoit reddit quil nen estoit riens. Sur ce elle se print a rire si fort en sen retournant en sa chambre que presque toute la court la pouvoit ouyr desquelz propoz et gestes la pluspart de ceulx questoient en la presence furent esbays et honteux."

submit to the authority of the pope. But the nuncio being a weak man, and apparently rather vain, was slow to admit that he had been wrong and Chapuis right, and slower still to act in accordance with the new state of things. Meanwhile, everything had gone smoothly at the papal court. The pope had agreed to meet Francis, Charles offering no great opposition to the proposal; and the French cardinals had reported their success to Francis. The latter now sent Guillaume du Bellay, Seigneur de Langey, to London to settle with Henry all necessary details in connection with the approaching meeting. On the 26th of February, de Langey, Jean de Dinteville, Bailly de Troyes, the new French ambassador, and de Beauvais, who had just arrived from Scotland, had a long audience with the king. Henry spoke eagerly of the conference, and promised to send to it either the Duke of Norfolk or the Earl of Wiltshire with full powers to arrange everything. To the demands made by Francis in favour of Scotland he yielded, conceding several small matters which had been in dispute; and all he asked in return was that the French cardinals should be instructed to obtain a promise that the pope would not "innovate" anything until the interview had taken place.[1] This request was granted by Francis on condition that Henry would in the meantime abstain from further proceedings in the matter—a condition which Henry accepted. In consequence of this arrangement the pope gladly

CHAP. V.

The proposed meeting of Francis and the pope.

March, 1533.

[1] G. du Bellay, de Beauvoys, and J. de Dinteville to Francis I., February 26, 1533, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 547, fol. 291.

CHAP. V.

consented to remain passive;[1] and during the latter part of March and the whole of April, notwithstanding rumours which were brought to Rome, he kept his word. Henry, on the contrary, almost as soon as Francis granted his request, broke his promise, several bills contrary to the papal authority being introduced into parliament on the 14th and 15th of March.[2]

March 15, 1533.

March 1, 1533.

Langey and Beauvais, who left London on the 1st of March, must already have heard something about the marriage, for their letter of the 26th of February to Francis contains a hint about a secret matter which had been disclosed to Dinteville. In these circumstances Henry did not think it prudent to leave Francis any longer in the dark; so George Bolcyn, Anne's brother, now Viscount Rochford, was sent to France to tell the whole truth to the king. He was instructed to ask that the matter should be kept secret for a while, that no steps should be taken at Rome to defend the marriage without Henry's consent, and that Francis should order his ambassadors at the papal court to do everything the English agents required of them, placing them at the command of Bennet, Bonner, and Carne.[3]

Lord Rochford's mission to Francis.

March 13, 1533.

Lord Rochford left on the 13th of March, and travelled post haste to the French court.[4] He was coldly

[1] Cardinal de Tournon to Francis I., Camusat, *Meslanges*, ii. fol. 8.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., March 15, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 27.

[3] Instructions to Lord Rochford, *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 427 to 37.

[4] E. Chapuis to Charles V., March 15, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 27.

received. Francis was probably not very sorry that the marriage had taken place; but he resented the way in which he had been duped. He had been made to ask the pope not to do anything against Henry, although Henry had already set the Holy See at defiance. Francis had been used as an instrument for deceiving the pope, and however ready he might be to cheat on his own account he did not like to be made to cheat for other people. Besides, Henry's demands were preposterous; Francis could not degrade his ambassadors by transforming them into mere tools of English agents of inferior rank; he could not abdicate his right to have in this matter a policy of his own. The whole message—amplified by the foolish bragging of young Rochford—foreshadowed a course of action which was most distasteful to Francis. He earnestly wished to prevent an open rupture between Henry and the Holy See, and was alarmed and annoyed when he heard that in England everything tended towards this disaster. Rochford seems to have made matters even worse than they would otherwise have been by his arrogance and by his ignorance of diplomatic forms. The consequence was that all his requests, with the exception of that for secrecy, were refused, and that the French court became much less favourably disposed towards Henry than it had been before his coming.[1] Jean du Bellay now for the first time seriously blamed the conduct of his English

April 6, 1533.

[1] Francis I. to Jean de Dinteville, March 20, 1533, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 547, fol. 221.

CHAP. V.

friends; and his disapproval was the beginning of a growing coldness.[1]

Henry and Anne. February 24, 1533.

But Henry went on in his course, and Anne assumed almost royal state. On the 24th of February she gave a great dinner at which, besides the king, the Dowager Duchess of Norfolk, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk and others were present. Henry was chiefly occupied in dallying with Anne; but, tearing himself away for a moment from his beloved, he called out to the old duchess to say whether the gold and plate on the sideboard were not a goodly show. It all belonged to the marchioness, and had she not a great portion, and was she not a good match? This witticism was duly acknowledged by the obedient courtiers, and quickly reported to Chapuis.[2]

March 9 1533.

A fortnight later the king and Anne went to church to hear a sermon, the burden of which was that Henry, as long as he had lived with Catherine, had remained in abominable sin, and that he was bound now to marry a good and virtuous woman, even if she were of lower degree than his own.[3] By such speeches the public mind was prepared for the final act which was drawing near.

When it was announced that the pope had pre-

[1] J. du Bellay to J. de Dinteville, March 20, 1533, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 547, fol. 218: "Jusqua ce jour je ne veis onc homme si desraisonnable . . . je crois quil mandera que je suis bien mauvais anglois pour ce que je ne luy ay voulu accorder les pires raisons et les plus jeunes que passerent onc a mer."

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., March 8, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 23.

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., March 15, 1533, Vienna Archives P.C. 228, i. fol. 27.

conised Cranmer, and that the bulls for the new primate would shortly arrive, Henry plainly revealed the objects of his policy. About the middle of March a bill was submitted to parliament forbidding appeals to Rome, and settling the supreme authority in matrimonial cases on the primate and, in certain cases, on the convocation of the clergy. So open an attack on the authority of the Holy See could not but meet with considerable opposition. The House of Lords had been carefully packed, many of the members having received no writs, others having been excused from attending, while the rest had been treated as Rutland had been. But the House of Commons, elected three years before under the influence of Norfolk and Suffolk, had no desire to rebel against the papacy. Those members who belonged to the aristocratic party—and they formed the large majority of the House—did not wish to augment the power of the primate or of convocation, while the burgesses of the greater towns feared the international complications which might result from a schism and the harm it would do to their trade. Ministers had therefore to employ every artifice to ensure the passing of the bill, which was not carried for nearly three weeks.[1]

CHAP. V.

The Holy See attacked.

Resistance in the House of Commons.

Similar artifices were employed to obtain an obedient majority in convocation, which had been summoned for the 17th of March.[2] Many of the

Convocation.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., March 31, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 33.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., February 23, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 20.

CHAP. V

clergy were excused from attending personally, and requested to give their proxy to some of their brethren, whose devotion to the king could be relied upon; and this was done to such an extent that 119 clergymen who appeared represented 200 more whose proxy they held. The first sitting took place on the 26th of March, and the Bishop of London, who presided, proposed the question as to the validity of the king's marriage. The opposition, knowing that direct resistance to the royal will was hopeless, raised a previous question. The matter, they said, was *sub judice* at Rome; was it permissible to discuss it here? But Stokesley was equal to the occasion; he produced a brief of Clement of the year 1530, authorising many classes of persons to state their opinion and to offer advice in the matter of the divorce. The bishop boldly asserted, "summus pontifex voluit unumquemque declarare mentem suam et opiniones suas in dicta causa libere et impune." But with that dishonesty which was so characteristic of Henry's chosen agents, he omitted to say that since 1530 Clement had recalled the permission he had given, and had solemnly forbidden all clergymen and doctors to meddle with the dispute.

March 26, 1533.

The opposition was in a very difficult position. They had no authentic copies of the subsequent briefs of Clement, and even if they had had them they would not have been allowed to appeal to them. Stokesley might refer to a papal brief in favour of Henry, but if his opponents had dared to produce one against the king, that would probably have been considered premunire, and heavy punishment might

have followed. Besides, the agent of the Holy See was afraid of Henry, and he had not the courage to act firmly and decisively. The English Catholics thought themselves betrayed by the pope himself, and after a short but angry struggle most of them gave way. The two propositions drawn up by Cranmer were carried with some slight modification by nominal majorities of 253 to nineteen and forty-one to six. But among the majority appear the names of Cardinal Campeggio, of Richard Nix, Bishop of Norwich, and of the Bishop of Chichester, all known to be ardent opponents of the divorce.[1]

A copy of the Acts of Convocation recording the votes was applied for by the royal agent, Dr. Tregonwell; and the request was granted on behalf of the assembly by Cranmer, who had been consecrated on the 30th of March, and now presided in the Upper House. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, being so bold as to protest even at the last moment, was arrested on the following day, and kept a prisoner at Winchester House.[2] Two days later, having done all that was wanted for the present, convocation was by royal decree prorogued.[3]

March 30, 1533.
April 5, 1533.
April 8, 1533.

Chapuis still manfully fought a losing game. When he heard of the discussions in convocation and of the passing of the Act of Appeals, he asked for an

Chapuis expostulates with Henry.

[1] Account of the Proceedings in Convocation, Pocock, *Records*, No. cccxxvi.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., April 10, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 37.

[3] Account of Proceedings, Pocock, *Records*, No. cccxxvi.; and Determination of Province of Canterbury, Pocock, *Records*, No. cccxxvii.

CHAP. V. audience; and on the 10th of April, Maundy Thursday,
April 10, 1533. he was admitted to the royal presence. He had a long discussion with Henry, to whom he represented the injustice done to the queen. The king replied that he wanted to have a son, and when Chapuis bluntly answered that he was not sure to have one by Anne, Henry smiled complacently and hinted that Chapuis did not know all his secrets. After an hour of wrangling the ambassador left, and on his return home found a message which showed that his interview could not have had any important result.[1]

Catherine refuses to give way. April 9, 1533. The day before, a royal commission, headed by the Duke of Norfolk, had waited on Catherine, and had most earnestly entreated her to relinquish her title and to submit to the king. They had recourse to every kind of lie and artifice to shake the resolution of Catherine; representing the separate opinions of the members of Convocation as a judgment passed by a tribunal, threatening her with the king's utmost anger if she persisted, and offering her all favour if she would give way. Seeing that she intended to remain firm, Norfolk exclaimed that it mattered not, for more than two months before the king had married the other in presence of several witnesses. With that the commissioners retired, and soon afterwards Lord Mountjoy, Catherine's chamberlain, came to tell her that it was the king's pleasure she should neither call herself nor be addressed as queen, and that henceforward she was to live upon her dowry

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., April 10, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 37.

as Princess of Wales. She refused, declaring that if the king would not provide for her she would go and beg her bread from door to door.[1] Poor woman! she imagined that she was free, that she would be allowed to leave her house as she liked. A few months dispelled that illusion.

The secret made known.

Notwithstanding Catherine's resolute maintenance of her rights, the secret was now allowed to transpire. On Thursday and Friday (the 10th and the 11th of April), the courtiers were talking freely of the fact that on the day of the Conversion of St. Paul, the 25th of January, the king had married Anne Boleyn. On Saturday, the 12th of April, she appeared for the first time in royal state. Trumpeters preceded her as she went to mass, she was followed by many ladies, and her train was borne by the Duchess of Richmond, daughter of Norfolk. After the service Henry passed from courtier to courtier, telling them to pay their respects to the new queen. They felt rather awkward, for although something of the kind had been expected, they could not all at once consider "Nan Bullen" a real queen. But Henry stood watching them, and, having no choice, one after another went and bowed to "her grace."[2] Anne had at last arrived at the desired goal.

April 12, 1533.

[1] Eustache Chapuis to Charles V., April 10, 1533, *loc. cit.*

[2] Eustache Chapuis to Charles V., April 15, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 41.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CORONATION.

CHAP. VI.

Popular feeling against Anne.

ANNE having publicly appeared as Henry's wife, it was desirable that her position should be generally acknowledged. Preachers were accordingly directed to substitute her name for that of Catherine in the prayer for the king and queen. The very first experiment made in this direction showed how strong a feeling there was against the divorce even among the most advanced class of Henry's subjects. On

April 13, 1533.

Easter Sunday, the day after Anne's first appearance as queen, the prior of Austinfriars, preaching at St. Paul's Cross, prayed loudly for her. His congregation, hearing the change in the long-accustomed formula, tumultuously rose, and nearly all left, although the service was not half over. A sharp and threatening message from the king to the lord mayor, transmitted by the latter to the guilds and freemen of the city, prevented people on the following Sunday from talking too loudly against the new marriage; but it could not hinder private criticism of the king's choice and the growth of sullen irritation.[1]

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., April 27, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 55.

Orders were sent to the country that the prayers for the queen should henceforward be offered for Queen Anne. In most parishes compliance with these orders led to scenes similar to that at Cheapside, and in some the royal command was for a time disobeyed. Hitherto the nation at large had taken but a languid interest in the question of the divorce. After the legatine court had been closed, little had been heard about it in the country. Since the universities had been coerced into giving an opinion, no public action relating to it had been taken in England; and what was done in Rome was nearly unknown out of London. People were therefore taken by surprise when they heard the new name, and understood that the divorce and the second marriage were accomplished facts. For the next few months the matter was discussed everywhere, notwithstanding royal proclamations and commands. It had become a national question in which all Englishmen were interested.

Cranmer prepares to deliver judgment.

As it was now impossible for the king to draw back, he felt that his somewhat informal proceedings ought to be ratified by a semblance at least of a judgment in his favour. This the new primate was to give, and accordingly, on the 11th of April, he wrote a letter to Henry asking permission to open a court and to adjudicate on the matter.[1] The letter, as Cranmer penned it, was subservient enough; it was the letter of a servant to his master, not that of a judge to one of the parties. But, cringing as it

April 11, 1533.

[1] Archbishop Cranmer to Henry VIII., April 11, 1533, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 390.

CHAP. VI.

was, it was not considered sufficiently submissive. Cranmer was to be taught once for all that he was entirely dependent on the royal favour, that even in his clerical capacity he must regard himself as a humble agent of the king. He had to write a second letter, even more abject than the first, in which, prostrate at the feet of his majesty, Henry's most devoted bedesman prayed for authority to proceed to the examination and final determination of the matrimonial cause.[1] Henry, while protesting that he recognised no superior on earth, graciously permitted the primate to hear and judge the case.[2] If any sense of dignity had survived in the archbishop, he would have felt degraded by the position into which he had brought himself. But Cranmer felt no degradation.

The primate wished to follow the example of Wolsey and Warham, and to work as far as possible in the dark. He feared that, if his action became generally known, the adherents of Catherine might give some trouble, and that Catherine herself might interject an appeal, or otherwise disturb his proceedings—a possibility to which he looked forward with considerable alarm.[3] But Thomas Cromwell, who chiefly directed the preparations, relied on the statute of appeal just passed, and the cause was

[1] Archbishop Cranmer to Henry VIII., April 11, 1533, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 391.

[2] Henry VIII. to Archbishop Cranmer, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 392.

[3] Cranmer to Cromwell, May 17, 1533, British Museum, Cotton MSS. Otho, C. x. fol. 166.

carried on in the usual way. A citation was served on Catherine in the middle of April to appear on the 9th of May at Dunstable before the archbishop. Being at first rather frightened, and not knowing what to do, she asked the advice of Chapuis, who very sensibly replied that Cranmer could not prejudice her rights, and that the best course for her would be to take no heed of his proceedings, and not to admit in any way that he could have jurisdiction in her case.[1] Catherine, following the ambassador's advice, simply signed two protestations by which she declared that she would not acknowledge Cranmer, a former servant of Anne's father, as her judge.[2] In no other way did she take the slightest notice of anything done by the archbishop, so that he was able to go on with his work without let or hindrance on her part.[3]

Catherine and Cranmer.

April 30, 1533.

Chapuis went to the nuncio, to whom he had brought a letter from Charles; and explaining the state of the case, he requested de Burgo to interfere by serving on Cranmer the papal brief which forbade any one to meddle with or give judgment in the matter of the divorce. But it was impossible to

Chapuis and the Nuncio.

[1] Chapuis to Charles V., April 27, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, i. fol. 55.

[2] Protestation of Catherine that she does not recognise Cranmer as her judge: notarial copy by George, Bishop of Llandaff, April 30, 1533, from Ampthill; signed by Catherine, by George, Bishop of Llandaff, and, as witnesses, by Thomas Abel, pryst, el licenciado Lassao, Francisco Phelipe, Johan Soda—Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, ii. fol. 56; and Appeal to the Pope, no date, from Ampthill, draft, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, ii. fol. 61.

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., April 27, 1533, *loc. cit.*

CHAP. VI.

prevail on the nuncio to do his duty; he was personally afraid, and he still hoped to prevent the worst. The brief remained in his chest, and this obstacle was removed from the way of Cranmer.[1]

Judgment delivered by Cranmer. May 10, 1533.

The archbishop, having opened his court on the 10th of May, pronounced Catherine contumacious; and when the formalities prescribed by canon jurisprudence had been fulfilled, he gave on the 23rd of May a judgment by which the marriage between Henry and Catherine was declared to have been null and void from the beginning.[2] A few days later he held another court, and decided that the marriage between Henry and Anne was good and valid.[3] This having been done, there was no longer any reason for delaying the coronation, which in hope of this favourable issue had been arranged to take place on the 1st of June.

May 23, 1533.

May 28, 1533.

Anne proceeds to the Tower. May 29, 1533.

On the day after Cranmer's sentence in her favour Anne left Greenwich, where she had been staying with Henry, to come up by the river to the Tower. With the indelicacy and want of feeling so characteristic of Henry, he had thought fit to give Catherine's

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., May 10, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228. i. fol. 61.

[2] T. Bedyll to Cromwell, May 12, 1533, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 394; Archbishop Cranmer to Henry VIII., May 12, 1533, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 394; Archbishop Cranmer to Cromwell, May 17, 1533, British Museum, Cotton MSS. Otho C. x. fol. 166; Archbishop Cranmer to Henry VIII., May 23, 1533, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 396; and Sentence given at Dunstable, Burnet, *Collectanea*, part i. book ii. No. 47.

[3] Sentence given at Lambeth, May 28, 1533, Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. p. 467.

barge to Anne; and the arms of Catherine had been cut down from it to make way for the apocryphal emblems of the Boleyn family. In this barge, attended by a numerous retinue, and followed by nearly two hundred boats, Anne went up the river. At the Tower she was received with the customary ceremonies—trumpets sounded, and cannon roared—but the people remained silent. There was none of the enthusiasm with which in all ages Englishmen have greeted a popular queen.[1]

She goes in state to Westminster. May 31, 1533.

The following day Anne spent at the Tower, and on the afternoon of Saturday, the 31st of May, she went in great state and pomp through the city to Westminster. By order of the king becoming preparations had been made for the occasion: flags were unfurled, carpets hung from the windows, barriers kept off the crowd; and the guilds were drawn up in their best array on both sides of the road. To meet the expenses a tax had been laid on all householders, whether Englishmen or foreigners; but an exception had been made by the lord mayor and his brethren in favour of the Spanish merchants, as countrymen of Catherine.[2] This piece of delicacy shows that the Spaniards were very popular at that moment, for otherwise the court of aldermen would scarcely have paid much attention to their feelings.

The procession was headed by about a dozen French merchants residing in London, dressed all alike in

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., May 29, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 77.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., May 18, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 69.

CHAP. VI.

violet velvet, wearing on the sleeve the colours of Anne.[1] An attempt to bring over a throng of French gentlemen to take part in the festivities had failed, so, *faute de mieux*, merchants rode in their stead.[2] After them rode English gentlemen and noblemen according to their degree. Then came the lord chancellor with Carlo Capello, the Venetian ambassador, and the primate with the Bailly de Troyes. They were followed by Anne's litter, all covered with white satin, carried by two mules. A canopy was borne over her head, and at her side rode the Duke of Suffolk as earl marshal, and Lord William Howard (representing his absent brother the Duke of Norfolk) as high steward. Next came numbers of ladies in cloth of gold and velvet, riding on hackneys, and the old Duchess of Norfolk and Anne's mother riding in a chariot. Lacqueys and archers closed the procession, which from the Tower took its way by Fenchurch and Gracechurch to Leadenhall, and thence by Cheapside, Ludgate, Fleet Street, and the Strand, to York Place or Whitehall.[3]

Annoyances on the way.

Anne's triumphal progress was not without its little annoyances. The merchants of the Steelyard had not been able to obtain the same favours as the Spaniards, and had been obliged by the lord mayor to erect a pageant at Gracechurch near their house.

[1] Narration de l'entree et couronnement, Camusat, *Meslanges*, ii. fol. 17.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., April 15, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 41.

[3] E. Hall, *Chronicle of the Union of the Houses of Lancaster and York*, fol. 215; and Narration de l'entree, *loc. cit.*

They chose to represent Mount Parnassus, on which sat Apollo with the muses. The fountain of Helicon ran with Rhenish wine, to the great delight of those who were permitted to drink of it. When Anne arrived before this pageant and halted in front, the muses addressed her, singing verses in her praise.[1] But just opposite to her was that part of the pageant by which the German traders avenged themselves for having been forced to raise the structure. Parnassus was appropriately adorned with coats of arms, and above all others, in the most honourable place, was a great imperial eagle, bearing on its breast the emblems of Castille and Arragon, the arms of Anne's hated rival. Lower down came those of Henry, and, lowest of all, the coat which the heralds had made out for the Boleyns. Anne was well versed in heraldry, and detected at once the insult offered to her. For the moment she had to submit, for there was no doubt that the emperor was of higher rank than the great-granddaughter of good Alderman Bullen. But we learn from Chapuis that she deeply resented the slight, and that on the following day she tried to induce the king to punish the obnoxious merchants.[2]

The English, less secure in their position than the mighty traders of the Steelyard, were more cautious in their marks of disloyalty. Still, they too contrived to do some unpleasant things. The merchants of the staple had erected a pageant at Leadenhall; and

[1] E. Hall, *Chronicle of the Union of the Houses of Lancaster and York*, fol. 215.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., July 11 and 30, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fols. 88 and 91.

CHAP. VI.

on it sat St. Anne and Mary Cleophas with four children, of whom one stepped forward to compliment Anne. The child delivered a long oration, saying that from St. Anne had sprung a fruitful tree, and expressing a hope that the like would be true of this Anne also.[1] As the mother of the virgin never had any children but that one daughter, and as Anne desired above all things to have a son, this was not a very kind thing to say, and it can scarcely have helped to smooth her ruffled temper.

The coronation. June 1, 1533.

It was late when the procession reached Westminster, where Anne publicly accepted some wine, and then retired to her apartment. Early the next morning, attended by the same splendid throng, she went on foot to Westminster Abbey. There the coronation took place with all the accustomed ceremonies, Cranmer officiating, assisted by Stokesley and Gardiner. After the ceremony in the church there was the usual banquet in Westminster Hall, which Henry, with Dinteville and Capello, witnessed from a latticed window. The next morning there was a tournament, in which, as no French knights had come, Lord William Howard and Sir Nicholas Carew led the opposing parties. After this the king and Anne returned to Greenwich, where balls and banquets continued for a few days more.[2]

In the meantime the new form of prayer had

[1] E. Hall, *Chronicle*, fol. 215.

[2] Narration de l'entree, etc., Camusat, *Meslanges*, fols. 17 and 18; and Sir E. Baynton to Lord Rochford, June 9, 1533, R.O. Henry VIII. Box I.

been slowly bearing its fruit. The question of the divorce had been brought before the nation, and now the nation gave its verdict. At no time was Catherine received by the people with such demonstrations of love and loyalty. In July, by order of the king, she was removed from Ampthill to Bugden; and on the way great numbers of people flocked together to see her pass. Notwithstanding her escort, they loudly cheered her, calling out that she was still their queen, and that they would always hold her to be so.[1] And her popularity was shared by her daughter Mary, who — according to Anne — was treated in the villages through which she passed "as if she were God Himself, who had descended from heaven."[2] Anne had been crowned, but the nation would not acknowledge her.

Popularity of Catherine.

Anne's old enemies, the Hanseatic merchants, continued to annoy her. A numerous fleet of German hulks came up the Thames and anchored opposite Greenwich, where she was staying; and to show their animosity the Hanseatic captains invited Chapuis to dine on board their ships. When he arrived they hoisted the hateful eagles, and in honour of the ambassador made a loud noise with shouting, drumming, and firing of cannon. Anne was intensely irritated by the demonstration, and Chapuis was of course delighted at her rage. She complained to Henry, and wanted him to punish the insolence of the Easterlings

Anne and the Hanseatic captains.

July, 1533.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., July 30, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 91.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., July 11, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 88.

CHAP. VI. and the disloyalty of the country people.[1] But the king, under the influence of Cromwell, wisely abstained from taking any notice of the offences of either. The punishment of the English peasants would have made matters even worse, and a quarrel with the Easterlings would have been most dangerous. Their fleet was strongly manned, the Steelyard was still fortified and armed, and they might have proved stronger than the king. All that Anne could do was to leave Greenwich and to retire to Windsor out of reach of Hanseatic bacchanals.[2]

However disagreeable this opposition might be, Anne had probably expected it, and would not have been made anxious by it, for she was aware that popular excitement does not last long. As for Catherine, she might be brought either to bend or to break, and then the course would be clear and easy. But that which filled Anne with serious misgivings was that her allies began to fail her.

Policy of Francis I.

Francis I., up to April, 1533, had upon the whole been well satisfied with the way in which Henry had proceeded, and the conclusion of the marriage had pleased him rather than otherwise. But he wished Henry to continue to defend his cause at Rome as before. This would have led to an interminable suit, for neither the pope nor the cardinals were willing to go to extremities; and during the whole time Henry would have needed the assistance of the French, and would have sunk more and more to the

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., July 30, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 91.

[2] Chapuis to Charles V., July 30, 1533, *loc. cit.*

level of a client of Francis. When, therefore, Dinteville heard that Cranmer was to hold an archiepiscopal court and to pronounce a divorce, he strongly protested. He went to Henry and asked that Cranmer's sentence should either be postponed until after the intended interview between Francis and the pope, or be kept strictly secret. But Henry would make no concessions: it was necessary, he said, to place the legitimacy of Anne's child beyond doubt. The bailly went away rather angrily and spoke to Norfolk, who said that he regretted what was being done as much as Dinteville, but that he could not help it.[1]

CHAP. VI. *May*, 1533.

Anne resists the French policy.

It was true that it could not be helped, for Anne was bent on it. Her interests absolutely required that Cranmer should publicly pronounce sentence in her favour; she could not possibly sanction the course proposed by Dinteville. If the question of the validity of her marriage remained in suspense, if

[1] J. de Dinteville to Francis I., May 23, 1533, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 547, fol. 128; and Camusat, *Meslanges*, ii. fol. 128: "Sire larchevesque de Canterbery besongne sur le grand affaire du Roy vostre dict bon frere pour juger sy lautre Royne estoit sa femme ou non, et croy que dans trois jours la sentence en sera donnee. Je lay supplie a mon pouvoir quil luy pleust vouloir faire dilayer le jugement aumoins jusques a ce que nostre dit St. Pere feust arrive a Nice ce quil ne ma voulu accorder, puis je lay suplie quil luy pleust faire tenir le jugement secret, en sorte que nostre dit St. Pere nen peust estre adverty que premierement ne eussiez parle ensemble. Il ma dit estre impossible de le pouvoir tenir secret et quil faut quil soit publiquement entendu et mesmes avant le coronation. . . . Sire mondit Sieur de Norfort ne sy trouve moins empesche que moy comme plus au long vous pourra compter jusque il vous voye."

CHAP. VI.

negotiations went on with Rome, Henry might, the very moment he got tired of her, accept some compromise with the Holy See, such as the proposal for the settlement of the dispute by a court at Cambray. The award—with his secret consent—would go against him, he would virtuously submit, and Anne would be ignominiously discarded. If she miscarried, this would almost inevitably be the result; it would probably be the result if her child proved to be a girl. To such a danger she could not expose herself, and as her anti-clerical inclinations accorded with her interest, she exercised all her energy to commit Henry to an irrevocable step which would prevent him from hereafter submitting once more to the pope.

Cromwell energetically seconded her. He seems to have had no sympathy with the ultra reformers, but he was heartily sick of the vacillations which had marked the policy of the last six years. He wished England to be independent of France, to be on good terms, if possible, with Charles V., but in any case to pursue a definite course of her own. So he helped Anne, and both together overcame any resistance which the Duke of Norfolk and his adherents dared to offer.

Alienation of the French.

By this policy Anne, of course, offended the French; and it increased the hostility of those Englishmen whose animosity had hitherto been kept within bounds by the influence of Francis. The French party in England, as well as the imperial, was now decidedly hostile to Anne.

But even this was not the worst. Henry himself

began to grow lukewarm. He had accomplished his purpose; he had shown the world that, pope and emperor notwithstanding, he had been able to have his own way. Anne, therefore, could no longer play upon his vanity, one of the principal motives by which she had hitherto ruled him. Moreover, he had already become rather tired of her; and thinking that in Anne's condition he was entitled to look out elsewhere for amusement, he began to flirt with the young ladies of her court. She was alarmed by this incipient infidelity, and angrily upbraided him for it; but Henry, who would have been cowed by her indignation a year ago, now brutally replied that she ought to shut her eyes to his pleasures, as others—he significantly added—her betters had done before her. Anne flew into a violent passion, and Henry threateningly bid her remember that it was still in his power to lower her as quickly as he had raised her. This made her more furious than ever, and for several days they did not speak to one another.[1] CHAP. VI.

Attention shown to Anne.

Anne's chief hope lay in the fact that Henry firmly expected she would give birth to a boy, whom he might proclaim Prince of Wales and appoint his

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 3, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 102: "Remplie de jalousie et non sans juste cause usa de quelque parolle au Roy dont il ne fust content et luy dit quil falloit quelle serrat les yeulx et quelle endurast aussi bien que avoint faict les autres que valloint mieulx quelle et quelle debvoit savoir quil estoit en sa main de la rabaisser en ung moment plus quil ne lavoit exalte; a cause desquels propoz il y a eu du groing et facons de faire de sorte que le Roy a este deux ou trois jours sans parler a elle. . . ."

CHAP. VI.

successor. As she was already far advanced in pregnancy, it became necessary to take care of her health; and Henry, for the sake of the child, notwithstanding occasional fits of ill-temper, showed some attention and kindness to the mother. The Easterlings having sailed away, the court returned to Greenwich, and here Anne's apartment was fitted up in splendid style. A magnificent bed which had been lying in the treasury, part of the ransom of a French prince, was given to her, that the king's child might be born in it.[1] Everything which might frighten or annoy Anne was kept from her; and when matters of state looked rather grave, Henry rode out as if to hunt, and met his council at some distance.[2] The life and health of the future Prince of Wales were not to be endangered.

August 28, 1533.

Bad news from Italy and France.

There were certainly good reasons why Anne should be prevented from hearing the news which came from France and Italy. When it was known in Rome that the Statute of Appeals had passed into law, the pope was extremely angry. He complained of having been deceived not only by Henry but by Francis, since he had refrained from proceeding against Henry in deference to the French king, who had undertaken that his authority should be respected in England.[3] The French cardinals, being anxious that the meeting should take place, tried to exculpate

May 30, 1533.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 3, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 102.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., July 30, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 91.

[3] Bennet to Henry VIII., June 14, 1533, *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 469.

Francis, and were lavish of promises of all kinds. CHAP. VI.
They even went so far as to declare that Francis would help to put down the German Lutherans by force of arms. The German princes were not greatly alarmed by this news; for as long as Francis paid them their subsidies, they cared little what his cardinals said. But when Henry heard of it, he was very differently impressed.[1] Francis did not in the least intend to coerce the German Lutherans, but it was not improbable that he would attempt to reconcile them to Rome, and if he succeeded in doing so, Henry would stand nearly alone in his rebellion against the Holy See. Seeing in how difficult a position he would thus be placed, Henry strongly expostulated with Dinteville, insisting that such promises would alienate the Germans and make the pope more overbearing than ever. Dinteville tried to calm him, but in vain; Henry remained angry and suspicious.[2]

Henry's anger was intensified when, a fortnight later, he heard that Clement, although he had not refused to meet Francis, had allowed the matrimonial cause to go on. Henry's excusator having been rejected, Capisucchi, the auditor, proceeded with the matter, and letters citatorial were served on Ghinucci, as ambassador of the king of England, to appear at the Rota.[3] This was reported in England towards

[1] Bennet to Henry VIII., May 28, 1533, *State Papers*, vol. vii, p. 463.

[2] J. de Dinteville to J. du Bellay, June 9, 1533, Camusat, *Meslanges*, ii. fol. 130.

[3] Paul Capisucchi to Ghinucci and Bennet, May 12, 1533, R.O. Henry VIII. box i. No. 156.

CHAP. VI.

the end of June, and seriously alarmed the king;[1] for the nation was in so irritable a mood that it might rise against him if he were excommunicated and deprived by the pope. As it was impossible to draw back, Henry resolved to act boldly; and on the 29th of June, before the Archbishop of York, he solemnly appealed from the pope to the next general free council.[2] This was an act strictly forbidden by the rules of the Church. It would, indeed, have been impossible to maintain ecclesiastical unity and discipline, if it had been lawful for any individual, at any moment, to set the power of the pope at defiance by appealing to a council which might never be held in the lifetime of the parties. Such an appeal was rightly considered the first open advance towards a schism; and Henry was not quite prepared to let it be publicly known at once that he had taken so momentous a step. The appeal, therefore, was not sent to Rome immediately, but kept as secret as possible, although Henry's precautions did not prevent Chapuis from hearing of it a few days later.[3]

Henry appeals to a council, June 29, 1533.

Norfolk in France.

The unwonted vigour displayed by Henry against Rome was rendered possible by the absence of the Duke of Norfolk, the chief of the conservative

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., July 11, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 88.

[2] Appeal of Henry VIII., June 29, 1533, Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. p. 478. In presence of E. Archbishop of York, Ric. Sampson, W. Fitzwilliam, Th. Cromwell, and Th. Argall and J. Godsalve, notaries.

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., July 11, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 88.

aristocratic party. The duke had been chosen to represent Henry at the meeting between Clement and Francis, and had left London on the day on which his niece had gone from Greenwich to the Tower. His colleagues in the embassy, Lord Rochford, Sir Francis Bryan, Sir William Paulet and a good many other gentlemen and doctors, had left on the 27th of May. Norfolk had remained behind to make a last attempt to win Chapuis over to the cause of the divorce, but his efforts had failed.[1] On the 30th he reached Calais, and immediately started for Amiens, where he was received by François de Montmorency, the grand master's brother, by de Humières, and by other men of high standing.[2] At Amiens he stopped, and wrote to England for fresh instructions, for he had heard that the meeting had been postponed. In reply, he was directed to proceed to Paris and to the French court, and to dissuade Francis from meeting the pope at all. If Francis persisted, Norfolk was to accompany him, and to ask him not to conclude anything with Clement before the affairs of Henry should be satisfactorily arranged. Should the duke find that the pope had adopted any decisive measure against the king, he was to abstain from direct negotiation with his holiness and to leave the matter to Francis, who was to be reminded of his alliance with Henry. Norfolk was also to urge

CHAP. VI.

May 29, 1533.

June 6, 1533

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., May 29, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 77.

[2] Norfolk to Henry VIII., May 30, 1533, R.O. Henry VIII., Box I. No. 176; and A. de Montmorency to J. de Dinteville, May 31, 1533, Camusat, *Meslanges*, ii. fol. 127.

CHAP. VI. Francis to make some strong demonstration against Henry's enemies.[1]

This was certainly an ungrateful task. It was most unlikely that Norfolk would succeed, and the negotiation would keep him out of England during the whole summer. The scheme had clearly been devised by Cromwell, who was already trying to oust the duke from his position as prime minister, and who wished for the next few months to rule in the royal council. But however repugnant the mission might be to Norfolk, he was obliged to proceed. At Paris, where he went first, he saw the Queen of Navarre, who, so far as opposition to Rome was concerned, was in favour of an English alliance. She received the duke very graciously, and warned him of the secret hostility of Anne de Montmorency, who at heart was an imperialist and had lately drawn the dauphin over to his party. She spoke much and well, and sent a friendly message to Anne; but she cleverly evaded all reference to the special object of Norfolk's mission.[2]

Norfolk left Paris with the intention of joining the French court. But Francis, who had been apprised of his instructions, had no great wish to see him,

[1] Henry VIII. to Norfolk, Rochford, Paulet, Browne, and Bryan, June, 1533, *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 473.

[2] Marguerite de Navarre to J. de Dinteville, June 22, 1533, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 726, fol. 98; and Norfolk to Henry VIII., from Paris, middle of June, 1533, Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. vi. pp. 308 to 311. Mr. Gairdner places this letter after the 23rd of June, which is clearly a mistake, for on the 23rd of June Norfolk was already at Briare, fifty miles south of Paris, on his way to Auvergne.

and the duke was not able to reach the court, which was continually moving, till the 10th of July. The court was then at Riom, in Auvergne.[1] He was splendidly entertained by the Duke of Albany, and was graciously received by Francis; but he was entirely unsuccessful in his mission. The meeting, Francis said, must take place, and Norfolk ought to assist at it. As, however, the French court was to proceed through parts of Auvergne, Languedoc, and Provence, which were rather out of the way, Norfolk was requested to take the more commodious road by Lyons and down the Rhone. Jean du Bellay —who had lately been advanced to the more opulent see of Paris—Morette, Jean Joaquin, de la Hargerie, and others well acquainted with England were appointed to accompany him.[2] He took leave of Francis at Albany's castle of Vic le Comte, and on the 21st of July reached the suburbs of Lyons.[3]

CHAP. VI.

July 10, 1533.

July 21, 1533.

At Lyons the authorities received him with great honour, the governor going out to meet him. But the ceremony was suddenly interupted by a courier, who arrived from Rome on his way to England.[4]

[1] Sir W. Paulet to Cromwell, July 15, 1533, *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 481.

[2] Francis I. to J. de Dinteville, July 15, 1533, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 547, fol. 250.

[3] Sir Anthony Browne to Cromwell, July 24, 1533, R.O. Henry VIII. Box I. P. No. 70.

[4] Account written by Jean du Bellay to serve for the memoirs of Martin du Bellay, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 33, fol. 53: "Ainsi quilz entroient dedans la ville les accompagnans les gens dela dicte ville et gouverneur en grand honneur, voicy un gentilhomme qui venoit de Rome en poste et extreme diligence devers le Roy dangleterre qui vient dire a loreille du

CHAP. VI.

Thinking that Norfolk was at the French court, the English ambassadors with the pope had sent their letters to him under cover to Anne de Montmorency;[1] but they had also given the courier a short note, which he handed to the duke. Norfolk is said by Jean du Bellay to have nearly fainted when he read it. It contained but a few lines, to the effect that sentence had been given against the king. The duke hurriedly retired to the apartment prepared for him, to take council with the bishop and with his colleagues.[2]

The pope delivers sentence against Henry. May 31, 1533.

The news of Cranmer's proceedings at Dunstable and of the sentence he had dared to deliver, had reached Rome on the last day of May.[3] During the preceding days, Gramont being very ill, Cardinal de Tournon had in consistory proposed a plan which he had wisely concealed from Bennet. The plan was that when Francis and Clement met, the former should ask the latter not to press the matter against Henry, to which the pope was to reply that in so abominable a case he could not but proceed, and that if the King of England remained stubborn he must be condemned

Duc de Norfoc quil sen alloyt signifier au roy dangleterre comment sentence avoyt este donne contre luy par Pape Clement."

[1] A. de Montmorency to J. du Bellay, July 22, 1533, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 265, fol. 232.

[2] Account of Jean du Bellay, *loc. cit.*: "Et luy en baille une petite letre dont le pouvre duc demeure si estonne que soubdainement cuyda deffaillir et ayant dict ceste nouvelle a levesque de Paris apres estre le mieulx rasseure quil peult se retirat secretement au logys et commencent a communiquer par ensemble quel remede se pourroyt trouver. . . ."

[3] W. Bennet to Henry VIII., June 13, 1533, *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 469.

and deprived. When this had been done, Francis was to send a message to Henry that if he were excommunicated it would be necessary, notwithstanding all treaties, to abandon him, since by standing by him Francis himself would incur the censures of the Church. Tournon made no doubt that Henry, so pressed, would cry for mercy, that through the influence of Francis the cause would then be heard at Cambray, and that Anne in the meantime would be sent away and Catherine allowed her rank, title, and place at court.[1] This strange proposal Clement communicated to Count Cyfuentes, the Spanish ambassador. It was received by Cyfuentes with great suspicion; but Clement was once more so hopeful that he permitted the cause against Henry to lag, and Bennet was able to write most favourably of the goodwill of the pope.[2] CHAP. VI.

The news of Cranmer's sentence changed the whole aspect of affairs. The pope, when he heard of this usurpation of his authority, was terribly angry; and even those cardinals who had hitherto been most friendly to Henry, owned that concession and forbearance made him only more insolent. For a time the partisans of Catherine had it all their own way. Tournon abandoned his former position,[3] and the Italian cardinals were indignant at the rebellion of Henry and Cranmer. But by far the most

[1] Count Cyfuentes to Charles V., May 29, 1533, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,585, fol. 260.

[2] Bennet to Henry VIII., May 28, 1533, *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 462.

[3] Dr. Ortiz to Charles V., September 9, 1533, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 1.

CHAP. VI. dangerous enemy of the king of England was the pope himself, who had been deeply hurt at the manner in which he had been duped and insulted.

June 14, 1533. On the 14th of June, when the Cardinal of Jaen saw the pope, Clement declared that Henry merited every pain and penalty, and that the proceedings against him were to be carried on without delay.[1] During the following days, while the congregation sat to consult about new briefs against Henry, Clement tried to stir up as many enemies as possible against the king and felt his ground with the French and the imperial agents.

About a fortnight later, Clement proposed to Cyfuentes that Francis should be incited to take part against Henry by a promise of the town of Calais, and that the emperor and the King of France should jointly make war to execute the papal censures. The count, rather startled, merely replied that it was a very grave matter. Clement, discouraged by this answer, then asked whether Mary might not marry the Duke of Norfolk's son, and thus gain many adherents and overthrow her father. True, the Earl of Surrey had a wife living, but, said Clement, that did not matter much, as he had been forced to marry her, and it had been done only *per verba de futuro*. Cyfuentes did not like this plan any better than the other, and urged the pope to have the cause decided as soon as possible.[2]

[1] Cardinal de Jaen to Charles V., June 14, 1533, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,585, fol. 270.

[2] Cyfuentes to Charles V., July 5, 1533, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,585, fol. 309.

There was no necessity to press Clement to proceed, for he was now as eager as could be desired. Several congregations and consistories were held; and on the 11th of July, having taken the advice of the cardinals, the pope delivered publicly, in open consistory, a sentence annulling the proceedings of Cranmer, declaring that Henry, Anne, and the archbishop had incurred the penalties threatened in the former inhibitory briefs, and requiring them, on pain of excommunication, to undo within six weeks all that had been done.[1]

July 11, 1533.

But even more had been accomplished for Catherine, although as yet it remained a secret. In one of the consistories the question had been raised whether the pope had power to dispense for a marriage with a deceased brother's widow, and the cardinals had decided in the affirmative.[2] As all Henry's arguments rested on the denial of this position, his agents could hereafter obtain only delay; judgment could not go in his favour.

Norfolk knew that when Henry heard of these proceedings, so far as they had been made public, his vanity would once more be brought into play, and that, under the influence of those who wished for a separation from Rome, he would attack the

[1] Sententia diffinitiva, V Idus Julii, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, ii. fol. 102; Pocock, *Records*, Appendix, No. xxxiv.; and Secretary Ferrarys to —— July 15, 1533, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 462, fol. 48.

[2] —— to Catherine of Aragon, British Museum, Cotton MSS. Vitellius, B. xiv. fol. 50; Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. vi. p. 473; and Dr. Ortiz to Charles V. March 4, 1534, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 148.

CHAP. VI. papal authority still more bitterly and render every compromise impossible. This the duke wished to prevent, so that his first idea was to return straight-
July 21, 1533. way to England, where he hoped by his presence to counteract the measures of the radical party. But Jean du Bellay assured the duke and his colleagues that the sentence just given was not definitive, and that at the coming interview everything might still be settled to the satisfaction of their master. He therefore urged them to remain, and to proceed to the place of meeting. Norfolk answered that after the pope had given sentence against his king it would not be proper for him to assist at the conference, and that if he committed so great a mistake he might lose his head for it. After an animated discussion they arrived at a compromise. The bishop, in the name of Francis, entered a formal protest against the departure of Norfolk from France contrary to the agreement between the two kings; and Norfolk, being thus provided with an excuse for remaining,[1]

[1] Account of Jean du Bellay, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 33, fol. 52: "Ils disoient que apres que leur maistre avoyt receu une telle honte que destre condemne par le pape et declare excommunie il ne seroyt honneste queulx se trouvassent avec le Roy comme supplyans vers le dict pape et disoient que silz avoyent faict une telle faulte leur vie seroit envers luy en tres grand dangier et de faict neust este lasseurance que leur bailloyt levesque de Paris que ceste sentence quil presupposoyt avoir este donnee par contumace se pourroyt reparer par lordre de droict a ceste entrevue et une facon de protester quil feist a lencontre deulx au nom du roy silz sen alloyent si soubdainement (desquelles protestes ilz se pouroyent couvrir envers leur maitre) ils rompoyent des lheure toute pratique de paction et sen retournoyent soubdenement en Angleterre."

consented to abide for the present at Lyons. He sent Lord Rochford, Anne's brother, to England to ask for further instructions, while he despatched Sir Francis Bryan, Anne's cousin, to Francis to complain of the injury done to his master.[1]

The pope's sentence made known to Henry. July 28, 1533.

Lord Rochford made good speed. He rode post to Calais, crossed at once, and on the 28th was already at court.[2] The news he brought filled Henry with indignation and dismay, all the more because Francis seemed determined not to resent what the pope had done. Henry—guided, no doubt, by Cromwell—decided to strike out an independent line of policy. Norfolk was to go to Francis to try once more to dissuade him from meeting the pope, and if his representations proved unavailing he was to return to England.[3] And that the loss of the firm and close

[1] Account of Jean du Bellay, *loc. cit.*: "Levesque de Paris qui suyvant et sachant lintention de son maistre estre pour le bien de la chrestienete que la chose si bien commencee se continuast feist tant envers le dict duc et aultres deputez quapres plusieurs disputes ilz se contenterent que pour suyvre leur premiere opinion qui estoit daller en poste prendre congie du Roy pour retourner devers leur maistre le frere de la Royne seulement y iroyt en poste et extreme diligence pour scavoir ce quil luy plairoyt quilz feissent et Bryant iroyt vers le Roy pour ladvertir aussy de ce qui leur estoyt survenu et se plaindre de loutraige du pape."

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., July 30, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 221, i. fol. 91.

[3] Account of Jean du Bellay, *loc. cit.*: "Par la fin retourna le frere de la Royne avec les plus grandes querimonies du monde voulant, sil eust peu, tirer le Roy de son coste contre le pape monstrant que luy avoyt rompu sa foy et promesse, desprise le Roy, etc.;" and Francis I. to J. de Dinteville, August 27, 1533, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 33, fol. 137.

CHAP. VI.

friendship of the French king might be balanced by other alliances, Stephen Vaughan, a client and friend of Thomas Cromwell, was despatched, on the day of Rochford's arrival, to Germany to negotiate an alliance with the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Brunswick Lueneburg, and the other princes of the Schmalkaldic league.[1] Another agent, Cristopher Mundt, a German, was sent to the dukes of Bavaria who, although Catholics, were intensely hostile to the Austrian power.[2]

New alliances.

The intelligence brought by Rochford was kept strictly secret. The council at which it was discussed was held at some distance from court, that Anne might not hear of it, and it is probable that she was not even apprised of her brother's arrival. He remained two days in England, and on the 30th left again for France, travelling at a less furious pace.[3] He found his uncle still at Lyons, whence Norfolk, having read his new instructions, set out for Montpellier to meet Francis. Here he had a long interview with the king, who continued to preach moderation, and protested that if Norfolk could have remained, a good result might still have been hoped

July 30, 1533.

August, 1533.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., July 30, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 91.

[2] Vaughan to Cromwell, August 3, 1533, *State Papers*, vii. p. 489; and Vaughan and Mundt to Henry VIII., August 27, 1533, *State Papers*, vii. p. 501.

[3] Chapuis to Charles V., July 30, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 91: "Afin que la dame ne sen pust appercevoir pour non dommaiger ce quelle pourte et pour mieulx couvrir le cas sous umbre daller a la chasse le Roy est party de Windezore ou il la laissee et est alle a Guillefort ou il a appelle outre ceulx de son conseil plusieurs docteurs. . . ."

for at the meeting. He asked that at least another ambassador with full powers should be sent in the duke's place. Norfolk, convinced by the arguments of Francis, promised to do his best to calm his master and to obtain what the French king desired;[1] and that he might be the better able to do so, he took post horses and rode from Montpellier to Calais.[2] On the 30th he was in England.[3]

Norfolk's return. August 30, 1533.

In consequence of Norfolk's representations, the Bishop of Winchester was appointed to take his place at the French court, and left on the 3rd of September. As Gardiner, next to Norfolk, was the chief rival of Cromwell, the latter was not sorry to get rid of him for a time. With Cranmer, Audeley, and Wiltshire at his back, Cromwell expected to be more than a match for the duke alone. He knew that nothing could be effected by Gardiner, who did not receive those full powers Francis had asked for, but only vague and general instructions.[4] Moreover, after Rochford had left on the 30th of July, the radical party had not been idle, and although Henry had already recalled his ambassadors at Rome, he sent to one of them, Dr. Bonner, a copy of his appeal to the council, with orders, if Bonner should think fit,

Gardiner sent to the French court. September 3, 1533.

August 18, 1533.

[1] Francis I. to the Bailly de Troyes, August 27, 1533, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 547, fol. 137.

[2] *Chronicle of Calais*, p. 44; and Norfolk to Lord Lisle, August 28, 1533, Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. vi. p. 442.

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 3, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 102.

[4] Account of Jean du Bellay, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 33, fol. 54; and Instructions to Jean du Bellay, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 121, fol. 35.

CHAP. VI. to intimate the same to Clement.[1] Bonner was an essentially coarse and violent man, who delighted in showing rudeness to the pope; and Cromwell was pretty sure that if he found an opportunity he would not refrain from thinking fit to intimate the appeal. This, as Cromwell knew, would put an end to all hopes of a compromise.

[1] Henry VIII. to Bonner, August 18, 1533, Pocock, *Records*, Appendix, No. xxxv.

CHAPTER VII.

MARCUS MEYER.

Loyal sorcerers.

DURING this time Anne's confinement had drawn near, and the king was in the very best of humours. He had consulted numerous physicians, astrologers, wizards and witches, and, as everybody knew what he wanted, they had, as right loyal sorcerers, unanimously replied that the child would be a boy—the Prince of Wales whom Henry craved for with such eagerness.[1]

Marriage of the Duke of Suffolk. September 7, 1533.

The Duke of Suffolk had been a widower for full ten weeks; his wife, the king's sister, having died on the 24th of June. He could bear his bereaved state no longer, and on the morning of Sunday, the 7th of September, he married Catherine Willoughby, only daughter and heiress of the late Lord Willoughby. On the death of her father, Catherine had become a royal ward, and Suffolk had paid his brother-in-law a thousand pounds for permission to marry her to his son, young Henry Brandon, Earl of Lincoln.[2] Henry Brandon and Catherine had been formally

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 3 and 10, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fols. 102 and 105.

[2] Debts of the French Queen and the Duke of Suffolk, R.O. and Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. vii. p. 613.

CHAP. VII.

betrothed, but when Suffolk became a widower he caused the betrothal to be annulled, and took his son's place.[1]

Birth of Elizabeth.

This Sunday was to be a busy day at court, for a few hours after Suffolk's marriage, between three and four in the afternoon, Anne's child was born. Doctors and midwives made haste to receive the young Prince of Wales; but their faces grew long, and they slunk away crestfallen. The child was a girl.[2]

Henry's vexation.

Henry was exceedingly vexed by what he considered a mischance and a humiliation. All the hopes he had so foolishly paraded before the world had come to nought; the wish of the children at Gracechurch had been too literally fulfilled. And what made the king's mortification all the greater was that he perfectly understood the exultation of his enemies. He could neither forbid nor resent the demonstrations of joy which were made all around him; but he knew that the bonfires which blazed in the streets, and the shouts with which the city rang, were intended to celebrate, not the fact that Anne had borne him a child, but the fact that the child was but a girl.

And the fact was not only vexatious and wounding to Henry's vanity, it had a real political significance. Englishmen were not accustomed to be ruled by women, and had Anne's child been a boy, some part of the opposition against the king's marriage might have been overcome. Many an Englishman might have abandoned the cause of Mary for that of a

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 3, 1533, *loc. cit.*

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 10, 1533, *loc. cit.*

Prince of Wales, but between two girls the choice was not difficult: the nation stood by Mary. CHAP. VII.

Chapuis, of course, was delighted at the disappointment of Henry, and plotted all the more eagerly against Anne. There had been some differences between Cromwell and her; the former having wished that in Cranmer's sentence of divorce Mary should be admitted to be legitimate, as born *in bonâ fide parentum*.[1] This would have allayed much of the secret resistance offered by Mary's friends, and would have facilitated a good understanding with the emperor. For very obvious reasons Anne had opposed the idea, and she had carried the day. Something of this seems to have transpired, and Chapuis tried to make out how matters stood, and, if possible, to gain the secretary over. In July he had a long conversation with Cromwell, exhorting him to be a friend of Charles. As long as the late cardinal had associated himself with the emperor, all had gone well with him; as soon as he abandoned the imperial party, he was ruined. Let Cromwell take warning from Wolsey's fate. No friendship, Chapuis significantly concluded, could be more advantageous to England generally, and to Cromwell especially, than that of Charles. To all this the secretary listened most attentively, thanking Chapuis for the interest he took in him. "He is a man of sense," the

April, 1533.

Chapuis and Cromwell. July, 1533.

[1] Memorandum on the back of a letter of John Mille to Cromwell, April 25, 1533, R.O. *Cromwell Correspondence*, vol. xxviii. fol. 74: "Item touching in the judgment that the great personage might be brought in to be notyd *in bona fide parentum*."

CHAP. VII. ambassador wrote, "who knows business and understands reason."[1]

September 25, 1533. Six weeks later, it was Cromwell who tried to speak in private with Chapuis. A few days after Elizabeth's birth the secretary was flying his hawks in the fields, and Chapuis rode out by appointment to meet him. This time the ambassador thought that he might express himself more openly. He said that now the king had married Anne it might be easier to redress matters than it had been before, for Henry, having shown that he was able to do as he liked, might take Catherine back without losing any of his reputation for independence; and Cromwell ought to support so good an arrangement. The secretary listened very patiently, but replied that the time had not yet come, as the king's love for Anne was still strong and ardent. The friendship of Charles was certainly all important to England, for it would be easy for him to ruin the kingdom; but Cromwell hoped Charles would not try—the emperor would certainly not benefit by such an enterprise. As to himself, Cromwell said, he was quite ready to abandon Anne and to act for Catherine, but things of this kind could not be done in a hurry. Chapuis left him with the conviction that he was only waiting for an opportunity to change his whole policy.[2]

It seemed probable that the opportunity would soon present itself. Shortly after his last conference

[1] Chapuis to Charles V., July 30, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 91.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 27, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 111: "Actendu que les choses sont trop fresches et lamour du Roy tropt vehement et ardent."

Symptoms of rebellion.

with Cromwell, Chapuis received strong hints that the ill-will against Anne was having serious consequences. Among the ladies of her household there was a fair damsel called Elizabeth Holland, for whom the Duke of Norfolk had shown his preference in rather too public a way. The duchess, a very haughty and violent woman, had taken this very ill, and on Norfolk's return from France had absolutely refused to see him. The quarrel, which reflected some discredit on Anne, was very disagreeable to the court; and it was decided that Lord Abergavenny, the duchess's brother-in-law, should be sent to her to effect a reconciliation. He was accordingly invited to Greenwich to receive instructions.[1] Here he met Chapuis at mass, and they returned arm in arm from the chapel to the hall, the king walking immediately behind them, and Cromwell in front. Abergavenny seized the opportunity to tell the ambassador hurriedly that he should have liked to confer with him, but dared not do so. He could only say that he was a warm friend of the emperor; and to intimate the strength of his feelings, he pressed the ambassador's arm.[2] This was the first hint Chapuis received of a vast conspiracy which was being formed.

September 14, 1533.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 27, 1533, *loc. cit.*: "Je cuydois Sire quil eust este appelle en court pour quelque affaire dimportance mais ce nestoit que pour une folie a scavoir lenvoyer vers la Ducesse de Norphoc quest sueur de sa femme pour faire lappointement entre elle et le duc son mari lequel elle ne vouloit veoer ne ouyr a cause quil est amoureux dune demoyselle de la concubine du Roy que sappelle Hollande. . . ."

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 27, 1533, *loc. cit.*: "Il (Abergavenny) eust charge dernierement que fuz en court de me

CHAP. VII.

A few days later, a more precise message was sent to Chapuis by the Bishop of Rochester, who had been released after a confinement of two months, and had returned to his diocese more incensed than ever against Henry and Anne. The pope's censures, he now told Chapuis, were against the obstinate like a leaden sword; they produced no effect. Charles ought, therefore, to take matters into his own hands, whereby he would do God as great a pleasure as in fighting the Turks.[1] Another malcontent suggested to Chapuis that Reginald Pole, who resided at Padua, and whose family were powerful, rich and discontented, might marry the princess and claim the crown, to which he had some pretensions by right of birth. In any case the emperor would do well to make sure of him.[2]

ramener de la messe et lors me dit quil eust eu bien desir de deviser avec moy mais quy ny avoit ordre et seullement me signiffioit que ny avoit gentilhomme au monde que de meilleur cueur feist service a Vostre Maieste que luy et que pourroit estre que Vostre Maieste sen appercevroit quelque jour. Et pour ce que le Roy poursuidoit tout de pres et Cremuel qui nous precedoit et nous alloit tenant les oreilles ny eust ordre de plus long practique; touteffois Sire laffection quil monstroit avoir de me declairer son intencion linduisoyt de cop sur cop me fere feste et me sarrant le braz par soubz lequel il me mesnoit."

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 27, 1533, *loc. cit.*: "Que les armes du pape pour ceulx cy que sont obstinez sont plus fresles que de plomb et quil convient que Vostre Maieste y mecte la main et que en ce elle fera œuvre tant aggreable a dieu (que) daller contre le turcq."

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 27, 1533, *loc. cit.*: "Le dict filz est maintenant a Padue a lestude pour la grande et singuliere vertu duquel joinct quil est du parentaige du Roy du couste du pere et de mere et pour la pretension que luy et ses

All this seemed very threatening for Anne; and it was the more dangerous, as she had some reason to complain of the conduct of the French. Francis was in a singular position. For his designs on the Low Countries he wanted Henry to be on bad terms with Charles, and to be the ally of France; and to secure this end he had favoured the divorce and the marriage with Anne. But for his designs on Italy, which he had much more at heart, he needed the friendship of the pope; and in order to please the pope he urged Henry to go no further, and disapproved of all steps tending towards schism. This was neither the real interest of Anne, nor did it suit her character and inclinations. During the prolonged strife she had contracted a strong feeling of hatred against the Holy See and the Roman priesthood. She desired a complete rupture, and supported every scheme likely to bring it about. "The cause and the principal wet-nurse of heresy," Chapuis in his quaint language styled her, and he was not much mistaken.[1]

Anne and the Church of Rome.

Although Anne had not an important ally whom she could trust, she had still something in her favour. If her child was but a girl, it had a wonderful quality

Elizabeth.

freres pourroient avoir au royaulme la Royne desireroit austant colloque la princesse sa fille par mariaige qua autre quelle sache. A quoy la dicte princesse ne feroit reffuz ains sen tiendroit plus que contente." I have quoted so largely from this letter of Chapuis because the quotations in M. de Gayangos' *Calendar* are not quite correct.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., April 1, 1536, Vienna Archives, P.C. 230, i. fol. 50: "Pour remedier aux heresies dyci dont la concubyne est la cause et principale nourisse."

CHAP. VII.

for a child of Henry VIII.: it lived and throve, and gave rise to a hope that it might have brothers who would do the same. On the 10th of September it was christened.[1] Dinteville, who, notwithstanding Norfolk's request, had received no orders to be proxy for Francis, was spared the trouble by the sex of the child.[2] The dowager Duchess of Norfolk and the Dowager Marchioness of Dorset were ordered to stand godmothers, while Cranmer was godfather. After this the child remained for nearly three months at court until a separate establishment was provided for it, and it was taken to Hatfield.[3]

September 10, 1533.

Success of Anne.

With this little in her favour, Anne had to allay the king's annoyance, to raise his courage, and to revive his hopes. Once more she succeeded, once more the hopes of Chapuis came to nought. Cromwell was right: the time had not yet come. She was still able to profit by all the little incidents of the summer and the autumn, and to reconstruct her power. And it happened that her task was lightened by two events which had not been foreseen.

Luebeck.

One of these events cannot be properly understood without reference to the circumstances of the time in the north-west of Europe. The city of Luebeck, chief among the Hanseatic towns, chief too of

[1] Account of the christening, Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. vi. p. 464.

[2] J. de Dinteville to Francis I., October 5, 1533, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 547, fol. 269.

[3] Minutes for the council and acta in consilio, December 2, 1533, *State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 414 and 415; and E. Chapuis to Charles V., December 9 and 16, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fols. 140 and 143.

the group of them called the Wendic towns, had obtained during the fourteenth century an almost undisputed supremacy on the Baltic. The Scandinavian kingdoms had been so thoroughly humbled by its fleets and armies that they had submitted to the terms the mighty burghers had chosen to dictate; and the Danes, by the treaty of Nystadt, had even conceded to Luebeck the right of vetoing the election of their kings. But Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes cannot easily bear a foreign yoke, and at the end of the fourteenth century the three northern nations united and called Eric of Pomerania, himself a German, but no friend of Luebeck, to the throne. A long series of struggles then began between the town and the union-kings, and Luebeck slowly lost ground. When, in the middle of the fifteenth century, Christian, of the house of Oldenburg, ascended the Scandinavian throne, the position of the town was such that it could not exercise its old privileges. Luebeck was deserted by its allies, and the lesser towns began to look after their own interests, and to oppose the wishes and plans of the chief city. It had been a rule that certain classes of goods should not be imported directly to the Scandinavian ports, but should first be brought to the staple of Luebeck; but this rule was now disregarded. The Dutch towns, which had formerly been among the chief friends of Luebeck, became its most formidable opponents and rivals. They declined to submit to restrictions on their trade, and sent their ships to any port in the Baltic they chose; and when the Luebeckers tried to prevent them, they

Luebeck loses its supremacy.

CHAP. VII. allied themselves with the union-king, who in return granted them extensive privileges in direct violation of Luebeck's treaty rights.

When Christian succeeded to the throne of the duchies of Sleswick and Holstein, and became the close neighbour of Luebeck, its difficulties were very much increased. After Christian's death, however, his territories were again divided; his elder son John inheriting the three kingdoms, Frederic, the younger son, the two duchies. John took no decisive steps against Luebeck, and there was a period of calm until his son Christian II. succeeded him. Christian, who had married a sister of Charles V., followed a more active policy; but, while he energetically withstood foreign oppression, he was himself a tyrant at home, and alienated the goodwill of his subjects. A rebellion broke out in Sweden, and Gustavus Vasa, with the assistance of the Luebeckers, drove Christian out of the country. The two other kingdoms of Christian also rebelled, and Frederic of Holstein became their king. Christian had to fly from court to court, asking everywhere to be assisted against his rebellious subjects and his treacherous kinsman.

Luebeck and Frederic of Denmark. April, 1522.

During the early years of their reign, both Gustavus Vasa and Frederic of Denmark were friendly to Luebeck, whose help they needed. For Christian had still a party in the country, and was always trying to regain his throne. In 1531, with the aid of the Dutch cities, he fitted out a fleet; and taking some landsknechts on board, he sailed from Holland to Norway. At first he met with success, but a Luebeck fleet which suddenly

October 24, 1531.

appeared on the coast cut off all further reinforcements, victualled Frederic's strongholds, and transported his troops. Christian was then forced to capitulate, and Frederic treacherously seized him, and threw him into a dungeon at Gottorp. CHAP. VII. *July* 1, 1532.

Having obtained so decisive a victory, and having no longer anything to fear from his foe, Frederic grew cold towards those who had aided him in the hour of his need. He did, indeed, threaten the Dutch, and demand an indemnity for the assistance they had given to his rival; but he soon granted them terms which were most disagreeable to the Luebeckers. The latter were left to fight their quarrel out as best they could, Frederic putting himself to little trouble on their behalf.

Had the old constitution still been in force at Luebeck, the city might have kept quiet. But the narrow oligarchy of conservative patricians had lately been overthrown. A violently reforming democracy had taken its place, and Juergen Wullenwever, its chief spokesman, had been elected burgomaster. As a true demagogue, Wullenwever was bent on a spirited foreign policy, and under his rule a fleet was fitted out to compel the Dutch to admit the privileges of Luebeck and to pay a fine for having aided Christian. In 1533 this fleet cruised along the coast of Holland, and spread terror among the seafaring people. In August a detachment of it, consisting of five line-of-battle ships, mounted by 2,200 men, sailed towards the English Channel,[1] and at the

April, 1533.

A Luebeck squadron in the English Channel.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., August 23, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 98.

CHAP. VII. Nore captured three vessels, one Flemish and two Spanish. Thence they proceeded to Dover, where they were allowed to victual, and finally they went to the Rye to lie in wait for fourteen Dutch hulks which were expected from Spain.[1]

Chapuis, hearing of their depredations, strongly protested against the favour shown to them; and as the Hanseatic traders had offended the court, the council were quite ready to promise that no further help should be given to the strangers. Orders to that effect were sent down to the coast, and when on the 18th of August the Luebeck captain, Marcus Meyer, landed to confer with the mayor of Rye, he was arrested on a charge of piracy.[2] The Luebeck ships, deprived of their leader, exposed to the cannon of the town and of the Dutch hulks, which had gained the harbour, dared not use force. They stood out to sea, and left the Channel.[3]

August 18, 1533.

Marcus Meyer.

Marcus Meyer was brought to London, and Henry, remembering the insults offered by the Easterlings to Anne Boleyn, wanted to punish him and to make the Hanseatic merchants responsible for the damage done by his ships.[4] But the aldermen of the Steelyard protested that they had no connection with

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 3, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 102.

[2] Reimer Kock's *Chronicle of Luebeck;* and E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 3, 1533, *loc. cit.*

[3] Sir Edward Guldeford to Cromwell, August 21 and 22, 1533, Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. vi. p. 433; G. Waitz, *Luebeck unter Juergen Wullenwever;* and Wurm, *Die politischen Beziehungen Heinrich VIII. zu Marcus Meyer.*

[4] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 3, 1533, *loc. cit.*

Meyer, and this they were quite able to prove. By and by, when the captain was closely examined by the royal council, he brought out certain facts which altogether changed Henry's intentions regarding him. CHAP. VII.

Marcus Meyer was one of a class of men who abounded in Germany in the sixteenth century—adventurers of talent and ambition, who delighted in daring enterprises and hairbreadth escapes. They were not without generous aims, but, leading a hard and checkered life, they could not afford to be very scrupulous, and were generally ready to enter into partnership with any one, however dishonest, who could help them to attain their ends. Meyer had originally been a blacksmith in Hamburg, but had enlisted as a soldier; and after having been tossed about a good deal, he had entered the service of Frederic of Denmark. In 1531 he passed with the rank of ensign to the Luebeckers, in whose service he rose to be a captain; and being an adherent of Wullenwever, he was appointed to the command of the soldiers on the squadron which ultimately made for the English Channel.

Meyer was not only a stout soldier, but a clever intriguer; and when examined, he expressed astonishment that he had been arrested for despoiling some of the king's bitterest enemies. He had thought Henry would be rather pleased by what he had done, but as it was otherwise, he promised that if he were set free the ships and merchandise should be restored.[1] At the same time he proclaimed the good intentions

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 3, 1533, *loc. cit.*

CHAP. VII.

of the Luebeckers—enemies of the pope and of the pretensions of Rome. He explained how matters stood in the north, and how advantageous it would be for Henry to conclude an alliance with Luebeck. Frederic of Denmark had just died, and a successor was about to be chosen. If a friend of Henry were elected, a confederacy might be formed between England, Denmark, and Luebeck strong enough to withstand any enemy. Meyer declared that the king ought not to miss so good an opportunity, and he offered to do his best to promote Henry's interests in the matter. Perhaps he even hinted at the possibility of Henry himself being elected, and thus uniting the whole north-west under his sceptre.[1]

A Northern confederacy proposed by Meyer.

There was much that was absurd in this plan, but wild and fantastic combinations had an irresistible attraction for Henry, and he listened with pleasure to Meyer's glowing speeches. The captain was set free and received permission to go back to Luebeck, giving security for his return to England in November. He may not have taken advantage of this permission, as the way to Luebeck was rather dangerous for him; but an English secretary was sent thither, nominally to urge the restitution of the two Spanish ships, in reality to inform himself about the true state of the case.[2]

The scheme fascinates Henry.

The hopes of an important alliance against Charles and the Holy See restored some firmness to Henry's mind. He was no longer so afraid of losing the

[1] Wurm, *Die politischen Beziehungen;* Waitz, *Wullenwever*, etc.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., September 15 and December 9, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fols. 107 and 140.

friendship of France; he dared once more to pursue a vigorous and decided policy. In this course he was encouraged by the activity of Anne and her nearest friends, who were able to frighten the king with tales about a clerical conspiracy, and to rouse his anger by the account they gave of what the malcontents said. CHAP. VII.

Brother Laurence's revelations. July 1533.

Early in July a lay friar of Greenwich, Brother Laurence, who had acted for some time as a spy, went to talk to Cromwell about two friars observant whom he had been watching. They professed to have come to England for the purpose of collecting books for Friar Peto, who had fled to Flanders and had been writing against the divorce; but Laurence was able to state that they had visited Catherine at Bugden. This was immediately reported to the king, and Cromwell asked to be allowed to take any steps that might appear to him to be necessary.[1] The friars, notwithstanding their caution, were then arrested, having been dogged from Ware to London. No papers were found on them, but as they seemed unfavourable to the new state of things, and probably knew many of the secrets of their order, Cromwell applied for leave to have them racked.[2]

The holy maid of Kent.

In his interview with Cromwell, Laurence had expressed a wish to make some revelations to the king regarding the holy maid of Kent, a nun named Elizabeth Barton, who was at this time much talked about. She had been for years subject to fits and

[1] Cromwell to Henry VIII. (not dated), R.O. Henry VIII., Box Q, No. 147.

[2] Cromwell to Henry VIII., July 23, 1533, R.O. Henry VIII., Box P, No. 361.

CHAP. VII.

hallucinations, and had spoken of her visions to a great many people who had been deeply impressed by them. She was very hostile to the divorce, and her prophecies were by no means favourable to Henry and Anne. The king decided that the matter should be investigated by Cranmer, who was staying at Canterbury;[1] and Cromwell sent the archbishop a list of questions he was to put to her, relating especially to predictions she was said to have uttered as to the death of the king and the queen. Cranmer had been in communication with her before he received these orders, and with his consummate talent for dissembling he had had no difficulty in making her suppose that he believed in her. He was very unwilling to act as Cromwell directed, because the questions, he thought, might put her on her guard; but being obliged to obey, he proceeded, with Dr. Gwent, the new dean of arches, to execute his commission. The maid asked permission to speak privately with the archbishop, and when this was granted, she said she had been told in her trance that the next time she would know how Henry and Anne would end. "And therefore" Gwent wrote "she desired to go to Curtopstrete, and there this week she shall have another trance, and then she shall know perfectly. And my lord has given her leave to go thither and to repaire to him again, trusting that then he shall plainly perceive her foolish dissimulation. And if your interrogatory had not been, she would have confessed more things, for my lord does yet but dally with

August 1533.

[1] Cromwell to Henry VIII., July 23, 1533, R.O. Henry VIII., Fox P, No. 361.

her as (if) he did believe her every word, and as soon as he has all he can get out of her she shall be sent to you." [1] CHAP. VII.

It seems that Cranmer was successful in his endeavour to lead the unsuspecting nun into a trap. She was arrested and sent to London, and shortly afterwards several monks, parsons, and gentlemen shared her fate. Their papers were seized, they were submitted to a strict examination by Cromwell and his agents; and every device was employed to obtain from them a full confession of all the nun had said and a list of the persons who had seemed to attribute importance to her statements.[2] When the list was made out, it proved to be a very formidable one. It contained the names of Sir Thomas More, the Bishop of Rochester, the Marchioness of Exeter, the Countesses of Salisbury and Derby, Lord and Lady Hussey, and many others of less note.[3] It was pretended that the princess dowager and her daughter had communicated with Barton;[4] but this was contradicted by Catherine herself, and Cromwell subsequently owned that nothing had been found

September 1533.

October 1533.

[1] R. Gwent to Cromwell, August 11, 1533, R.O. *Cromwell Correspondence*, vol. xv. No. 70.

[2] Examination of Elizabeth Barton, R.O. Henry VIII., Box Q, No. 141; Examination of John Mores, R.O. Henry VIII., Box Q, No. 154; Examination of —— of Syon, R.O. Henry VIII., Box Q, No. 127; and Sir Christofer Hales to Cromwell, September 24 and 25, 1533, R.O. *Cromwell Correspondence*, vol. xvi. Nos. 33 and 38.

[3] List of names, R.O. Henry VIII., Box Q, Nos. 148 to 150.

[4] *Ibid.*; and Account of J. de Dinteville, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 547, fol. 323.

CHAP. VII. to compromise either her or Mary.[1] An attempt to implicate the Bishop of Winchester also failed.[2]

It does not seem to have been Cromwell's intention to proceed with any great severity against the nun and her accomplices or dupes, for the examination had shown that no real danger was to be apprehended from them. She was made to stand at St. Paul's Cross, to read a confession, and to listen to a sermon about her folly,[3] after which she was sent back to prison. Several of her adherents, however, were released on bail—to the disgust of Cranmer, who advocated the adoption of stern measures.[4] As for those whose names appeared on the list of compromised persons, Cromwell's aim was to terrify them by giving them the impression that they might at any moment be sent to the Tower. A few of them were informed of the danger in which they stood, and hastened to make their most humble submission;[5] but the great majority were left in suspense whether they were to be punished or not. All this was very agreeable to Cromwell, with whose plans it perfectly accorded. Marcus Meyer had inspired Henry with fresh courage, and now the nun had provided the secretary with

November 23, 1533.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., November 20, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 125.

[2] Examination of John Mores, *loc. cit.*

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., November 24, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 130.

[4] Archbishop Cranmer to Cromwell, December 16, 1533, and January 5, 1534, R.O. Cranmer's Letters, Nos. 8 and 10.

[5] Lady Exeter to Cromwell, Wednesday, R.O. *Cromwell Correspondence*, vol. x. fol. 199; and Henry Gold to Cromwell, *Ibid.* vol. xiv. fol. 4, etc.

the means of overawing the opposition, while the king had been more than ever irritated against the conservative party. Everything appeared favourable to a revival of the energetic policy which had been followed during the spring.

Clement and Francis at Marseilles. October 12, 1533.

Meanwhile, the Bishop of Winchester had proceeded to the French court, which he reached some time before the arrival of the pope. On the 11th of October, Clement landed near Marseilles, and on the following day he made his solemn entry into the town.[1] Two or three days being spent in ceremonious visits and public consistories, negotiations did not begin until the 16th, but they were carried on very quickly, for the ground had been prepared.[2] Henry's ridiculous demand that the pope should forthwith revoke the sentence of the 11th of July, and decide the whole question in his favour, was politely refused by Clement, who said that the acts of the cause were at Rome, and that without them he could do nothing. Francis, who had not seriously pressed the demand, informed the English ambassadors of Clement's answer, but declared that other means would be found to satisfy their king.[3] Gardiner seems to have taken this very ill, for he immediately sent

Clement refuses to revoke the sentence against Henry.

[1] Secretary Berthereau to J. de Dinteville, October 15, 1533, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 547, fol. 273.

[2] *Ibid.*; and Account of Jean du Bellay, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 33, fol. 52.

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., November 3, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 120; and J. de Dinteville to Francis I., November 2, 1533, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 547, fol. 276.

CHAP. VII.

a courier to England to apprise Henry of the disappointment of his hopes.[1]

Discussion as to the citation of Anne. October 20, 1533.

Three days later, on the 20th, a kind of disputation was held at the lodging of Cardinal Duprat, the Chancellor of France, in which the auditor Simonetta, the nuncio, and Dr. Burla, a canonist of some repute, took part. The cardinal complained of the brief of the 11th of July. Clement, he said, had annulled the marriage of Anne, and had declared her children illegitimate. But Anne had never been cited to answer the charge against her; and whatever might be the faults of Henry she ought not to be punished for them, nor for her own, without having an opportunity of defending herself. To this, Simonetta replied that, as Anne had known, the pope had threatened to excommunicate any woman who should contract marriage *lite pendente* with Henry. Her marriage had been annulled because it was contrary to the papal inhibition, and she had no cause of complaint.

But Simonetta did not make a very decided stand, for there was some force in the argument of Duprat. The imperial agents had, indeed, long discussed the question whether Anne should be cited or not.[2] Chapuis had been of opinion that the pope ought to order her under pain of excommunication to leave the court of Henry; but it seems that this was *ultra*

[1] Gardiner, Bryan, and Wallop, to Lord Lisle, October 17, 1533, Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. vi. p. 526; and E. Chapuis to Charles V., November 3, 1533, *loc. cit.*

[2] Cyfuentes to Charles V., October 24, 1533, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 42.

vires. When the news of the marriage arrived, the question was once more thoroughly argued, and the imperial lawyers considered that the citation of Anne would greatly complicate the proceedings. She might send an excusator to plead that the statutes of premunire prevented her from appearing at Rome, and by legal artifices delay the cause for years. So she was not summoned, but the imperial agents were aware that this might not be quite regular.[1] CHAP. VII.

Clement's proposal.

It was on this ground that Clement intended to base the concessions he was ready to make. A deed had been drawn up by which, at Henry's request, he assented to the cause being reheard at Avignon before special legates, on condition that the king should acknowledge the authority of the pope, and promise to submit to his final judgment. Nothing remained but to execute the deed, and Gardiner was called upon to produce the full powers he had said he held. He coolly declared that he had not spoken the truth, that he had no full powers, and that he could not bind his master to such conditions.[2] The French king, perceiving that he had again been duped by the English, became very angry, and said to Gardiner that he would no longer exert himself for a man who behaved like the King of England. Gardiner replied rather haughtily, and Francis went to the pope and indignantly reported what had happened. Shortly afterwards, on the 27th of October, the marriage

October 27, 1533.

[1] Memorial sent from Rome by R. de Avalos, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 94.

[2] Instructions to du Bellay, *Legrand*, iii. p. 571; and Account of J. du Bellay, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 33, fol. 62.

CHAP. VII.

of the Duke of Orleans and Catherine dei Medici was concluded without any previous decision regarding Henry's affairs.[1]

After some reflection Francis resolved to make another effort to settle the English difficulty. He sent Guillaume du Bellay to Gardiner, and on the 24th, at du Bellay's request, Gardiner despatched a courier to London to ask for the necessary powers to sign the agreement Francis had proposed. It was hoped that Clement would remain until the messenger returned, and that all might still be peacefully settled.[2]

October 24, 1533.

Anger of King Henry. October 25, 1533.

But on the 25th of October Henry had received Gardiner's letter of the 17th, in which the bishop reported that Clement had refused to dispose of the matrimonial cause in the offhand manner that had been suggested. Henry became pale with anger and crushed Gardiner's letter in his hand, exclaiming that he was betrayed, and that the King of France was not the true friend he had thought. He continued for some time to swear at the pope, and could not regain his equanimity.[3]

His wrath was carefully nursed by all who wished for a final rupture with Rome. Cromwell opposed an arrangement which would increase the influence of France abroad and of the French party at

[1] Cyfuentes to Charles V., November 6, 1533, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 49.

[2] Instructions to J. du Bellay, *Legrand*, vol. iii. p. 571; Account of du Bellay, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 33, fol. 57; and Cyfuentes to Charles V., November 6, 1533, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 49.

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., November 3, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 120.

the English court, while Anne was alarmed at the prospect of the question of the divorce being re-opened, and the validity of her own marriage being thereby disputed. They combined, therefore, to prevent Henry from considering the matter calmly, and they were successful. When, on the 1st of November, the courier who brought Gardiner's letter of the 24th arrived, the king was in a most defiant mood. He at once decided to refuse the request, and instructions to that effect were sent to the ambassadors at Marseilles.

Instructions to the English ambassadors. November 1, 1533.

The draft of these instructions, which is still preserved at the Record Office, seems to be in the handwriting of Cromwell, but the style resembles that of the king rather than that of the secretary. "Upon the saying of Monsieur de Langeay," it begins, "of the appointment of two legates, the one a Frenchman the other of the pope's chosing, to determine the matter in Avignon, the same has been offered heretofore if the king's highness would condescend to make a proxy and grant the pope's jurisdiction, that the pope would then have made a commission to two cardinals whereof the one should be Cardinal de Monte to determine the cause at Cambray, which place is much more propice and tute and sure for the king than Avignon." . . . "Item as touching the sending of the proxy it is to be answered what needs the proxy to be sent when the French king at sundry times promised at this enterview to be proctor himself." The writer goes on to argue against the course pursued by Francis, and directs the ambassadors to bribe, if possible, Queen Catherine's proctor. He concludes

CHAP. VII.

with the words: "Item to provoke as may be the general council, which will more fear the pope than all other things."[1]

With these instructions a courier left England on the 1st of November, and made such haste that on the 6th he was at Marseilles. Here he found Doctor Bonner, who had received at Lyons a copy of the king's appeal to a council, and had been ordered to join the Bishop of Winchester at Marseilles and to concert further measures with him.[2] The despatch was handed to Gardiner, who acquainted Bonner with its contents; and both were of opinion that the appeal should be intimated without further delay. But such an intimation would of course put an end to the negotiations, and it would prove that Henry had all along been trying to deceive Francis. It would, moreover, be a gross insult to the French king's guest. Francis was already in a sufficiently bad temper; and he might, perhaps, show Bonner and his colleagues that diplomatic privileges were accorded only in return for diplomatic behaviour, and that France still had dungeons and gallows for those who roused the king's anger.

Henry's appeal to a council. November 6, 1533.

On the whole, it seemed best to the English ministers to begin by feeling their ground with Francis. They accordingly told him in general terms

[1] Instructions to the Ambassadors, R.O. Henry VIII. Box P; abstracted, Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. vi. p. 333.

[2] Henry VIII. to Bonner, August 18, 1533, Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, App. No. iv.; Henry VIII. to Bonner, British Museum, Cotton MSS. Vit. B. xiv. fol. 52; and Bonner to Henry VIII., October 16, 1533, Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. vi. p. 525.

what Bonner had been ordered to do. The king immediately tried to dissuade them from their purpose. "Your king," he exclaimed, "thinks himself a wise man, but he is simply a fool. He is working in the interest of the queen, for by this appeal he admits that he knows of the sentence of the 11th of July and nevertheless disregards it. Let him know that if, in consequence of his behaviour, he is excommunicated, I have declared and declare that I shall not assist him against the pope." [1]

But although Francis was greatly displeased, he spoke neither of hanging nor of prisons, and the English ministers came to the conclusion that the message of Bonner might be delivered without risk to their necks. So the doctor, taking Girolamo Penizzoni with him as a witness, went on the 7th to the pope, and after some preliminary talk intimated Henry's appeal. When Clement perceived what was meant, he interrupted for a moment the reading of the different papers, and spoke bitterly of Henry's disrespect and ingratitude.[2]

The appeal intimated to the pope. November 7, 1533.

While the papers were being read, Francis was announced, and the pope hastened to complain to him of the insult he was receiving. "Being your guest," said Clement in effect, "I allow people to enter without insisting on all the formalities which are used at Rome. These men, relying on this, have come in without asking the permission of anybody,

Clement tries to provoke a rupture between England and France.

[1] Cyfuentes to Charles V., November 9, 1533, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 62.

[2] Bonner to Henry VIII., November 13, 1533, Burnet, *Collectanea*, part iii. book ii. No. 23.

CHAP. VII. and have just done that which at Rome would entail capital punishment. I have shown myself ready to do all that I can, but the King of England has acted in a totally different manner. You ought, therefore, to forsake his alliance and to unite with the Holy See against him."[1]

Francis was not a little annoyed by Bonner's insolence; and afterwards he promised that he would no longer support Henry's cause, protesting that he was as displeased with the King of England as his holiness could be.[2] But as to an open rupture with

[1] Account of J. du Bellay, *loc. cit.* fol. 56: "Je presuppose que vous scavez . . . comment apres toutes concertations a lheure que le Roy venoyt pour sur ce point la et a linstant mesmes prendre avec le pape a ung jour une resolution de faire affaire il rencontra les ambassadeurs dangleterre qui venoyent de signifiier au pape lappellation au futur concile, comment il trouva le pape en colere, comment il etc.

"Le pape donc vinct a grandement se lamenter que non seulement le Roy dangleterre les eust tous deulx desprisez en faisant ceste innovation mais eust grandement abuse de la couverture du Roy car soubs couleur que le pape estoit logie chez luy au moyen de quoy sa sainctete donnoyt entree indiferement a chacung sans user de la ceremonie que a Rome il est accoustume de user a ses audiences ces docteurs sestoyent venuz insinuer et se presenter sans demander congie a lhuissier chambrier ne aultre et avoyent faict chose que a Rome eust este capitale cest de luy signifier ceste appellacion (chose que veritablement les dicts docteurs confessoient bien avoir faict pour la dicte rayson sachant quil ne leur seroyt loisible de la povoir faire ailleurs). Concluoyt la dessus le pape sestant de son coste tout voulu mectre en son debvoir et le Roy dangleterre faict au contraire que le Roy le debvroyt reputer pour enemy et se mectre contre luy avec le sainct siege apostolique."

[2] Cyfuentes to Charles V., November 9, 1533, *loc. cit.*; and Account of J. du Bellay, *loc. cit.* fol. 60: "Le Roy que ne povoyt nyer ne excuser lerreur quavoyent faicte ces deputez et voyant la

England, that might lead to results which would be injurious to the interests even of the Holy See. If the King of England became desperate, he might throw himself into the arms of people whose alliance would be hurtful not only to the pope and Francis, but to the whole of Christendom. Henry had asserted (Francis said) that, after all, if things came to the worst, he might take back his wife and keep the other as his mistress, and that then he and the emperor might jointly make war upon the French. In fact, the King of England had discussed this scheme with some of his most confidential ministers.[1] If it were not for

principale occasion de son voyage estre par cest acte demeure a neant, se trouva fort ennuye car a la verite il ne povoit nyer au pape quil neust raison de dire ce quil disoyt. Et apres avoir faict parler aux ambassadeurs dangleterre (je croy que ce fust par vous) et veu le peu de fondement quil trouvoyt de leur coste ne sceust faire de moins que de consentir au pape de ne luy parler plus de ceste affaire et a venir traicter des aultres." . . .

[1] Account of Jean du Bellay, *loc. cit.* fol. 60: "Mais den venir jusques la que de se declarer contre le Sr. Roy dangleterre il remonstra le dommaige quil feroyt aux affaires publiques et mesmement au sainct siege car telle chose pourroyt advenir que encores serviroyt bien ung mediateur et aultre ne sen povoit trouver que luy; aussy que faisant icelle declaration cestoyt le vray moyen de desesperer le dict Roy et de le contraindre de se venir jecter entre les mains de gens dont lalliance pourroyt estre dommeagable non a eulx deulx seulement mais a toute chrestiente. Joinct quil estoyt eschappe au roy dangleterre de dire a quelqung que la ou le Roy son frere luy fauldroyt au pis aller il seroyt tousjours quicte pour reprendre sa femme au contentement de lempereur, entretenant laultre pour sa mye, et quil mectoyt telz partys en avant au dict empereur contre le roy avec lequel il estoyt en . . . quilz le renieroyent eulx deux ensemble et de faict cestoyent propoz quil avoyt secretement concertez avec ses plus privez et familiers."

CHAP. VII.

this, so Francis assured the pope, he would play Henry a trick the latter should long remember.[1]

But Clement was really angry, and urged so persistently that the insult which had been offered to him should be avenged, that Francis began to speak of Calais as the price for which he was ready to turn against Henry. The pope readily assented, and the proposal was submitted to the two chief ministers of Francis, the grand master and the admiral. They both commended it, for they had lost patience with Henry, and were anxious that he should be abandoned.[2]

Francis and the English ambassadors.

With the English ambassadors Francis had a violent quarrel. "You will have me do for you," he said; "and when I and my council devise after what we may do, you regard us not therein, but of yourself do things clearly contrary; and as fast as I study to win the pope, you study to lose him." "You see," he continued, "the effect of all your desires: they refuse that should receive." Gardiner said that whatever had been done had been done with the knowledge and consent of Francis; but the king answered that he had never supposed they would go so far as they had gone. "I desired," he exclaimed, "to have a proxy sent, and that was not only left behind, but also, in lieu of that, an intimation sent."[3] Francis declared that he would have no

[1] Cyfuentes to Charles V., November 9, 1533, *loc. cit.*: "Que sino tuviera necessidad de tenerlo por amigo a causa que otros no lo tomassen le haria una burla que se le acordasse." [2] *Ibid.*

[3] The English Ambassadors at Marseilles to Henry VIII., November, 1533, British Museum, Arundel MSS. 151, fol. 192; and Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. vi. p. 571.

more to do with the matter, and for the moment it seemed as if he intended to keep his word. CHAP. VII.

The pope leaves Marseilles.

The pope, after the insult he had received, was loath to stay; and Francis, who could not now expect a favourable reply from Henry, did not try to detain him. On the 11th of November, Clement gave his formal answer to Bonner, rejecting the appeal of Henry as utterly illegal, and on the 12th he mounted his galley and departed.[1] Negotiations might be resumed, but instead of being conducted between the pope and the King of France in person, they would henceforth have to be carried on by subordinate ministers.

November 12, 1533.

November 8, 1533.

Before leaving Marseilles, the pope had once more tried his luck with Cyfuentes, and had spoken about the cession of Calais to the French. But in the preceding summer the reserve of the Spanish ambassador had been approved of by Charles V., who thought that Calais was much less dangerous in English hands than it would be in the hands of the French.[2] The count, therefore, would make no answer to Clement's proposals, and Francis, seeing that there was nothing to be gained by abandoning Henry, again attempted to reconcile him to the Holy See.[3]

Dinteville and Henry.

Jean de Dinteville, the French ambassador in London, had done his best to moderate the English

[1] Bonner to Henry VIII., November 13, 1533, Burnet, *Collectanea*, part iii. book ii. No. 23.

[2] Relacion de Cartas de Roma, July 5, 1533, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,585, fol. 309.

[3] Cyfuentes to Charles V., November 9, 1533, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 62.

CHAP. VII. policy. He had had several sharp encounters with the king, and his temper had been sorely tried by Henry's insincerity and unfairness. The Duke of Norfolk, with whom Dinteville remonstrated, said that he could do nothing, as the king would not listen to any argument, and that he had already lost credit on account of the opposition he had dared to offer to extreme measures.[1] Dinteville felt relieved when, in the middle of November, de Castillon, who was to succeed him, arrived in England. He decided that, before going away, he would speak plainly to Henry; but at the farewell audience the king hardly gave him an opportunity of uttering a word, but himself broke out into vehement recriminations. He accused Francis of double-dealing, and lied with such impudence that the ambassador

November 9, 1533.

[1] J. de Dinteville to A. de Montmorency, November 7, 1533, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 547, fol. 276: "ce dit Sieur Roy . . . me vouloit faire a croire que mes instructions portoient de luy dire que jamais le Roy ne feroit le mariaige de Mgr dorleans que le pape ne depeschat son affaire selon son intention, mais jamais je ne luy voulu accorder quainsi feust . . . je devisay bien amplement avec Mr de Norsfort auquel je remonstroit . . . que sil (Francis) entendoit que ses peines et labeurs outre la grande despence quil faict feussent si mal reconnus de la part de ce Roy, que je ne doubtays point quil sen ennuyeroit et fascheroit . . . et que lon peut bien tant presser et fascher son amy que lon sen faict importun. . . . Mgr je vous puis bien asseurer quilz sont plusieurs du conseil de ce Roy qui trouvent ces raisons dessus dictes veritables et tres bonnes et principallement Mr de Norsfort, mais il ma dict quil trouve le Roy son maistre si tres embrouille en son cerveau de ceste affaire quil ne se fie a homme vivant et que . . . il congnoist tres bien que luy et la Royne sont en souspecon bien souvent contre luy pour lamour de ce dit affaire."

stood amazed. Even Norfolk was shocked by Henry's behaviour, and subsequently admitted to Dinteville that in what the king had said he had not always adhered to the truth.[1] CHAP. VII.

Dinteville was so angry that the English ministers of the French party tried to calm him. Suffolk spoke of Cromwell's influence, and Norfolk and Sir William Fitzwilliam made other excuses for the king. Anne, true to her French sympathies, and glad at heart that no compromise had been effected, was most gracious to the departing ambassador, and loud in her praise of the French;[2] and her cousin, Sir Francis Bryan, who, at the request of the French king, had hastened back to London, spoke in the same sense, and did his best to soothe the mutual irritation.[3]

[1] Report of J. de Dinteville, November, 1533, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 547, fol. 321: "Il ne scait si lon veult faire a lancienne facon de France quy est de mener et entretenir les gens pendant quilz en ont affaire sans venir au poinct mays de user de dissimulation qui est chose par ou on ne le menera pas" . . . and "Nota, que Mr de Norsfort dit nen avoir du tout tant dict" . . . and "Quant a lentreveue dont il a este adverty quon a parle deulx deux il ne peult penser pour quelles raisons . . . combien quil y a plus de deux moys que le dict sieur maye touche quelque mot de la dicte entrevue. Nota quil ne veult quil soit sceu."

[2] *Ibid.* fol. 323 and 324: "Nota que tout le conseil dangleterre est bien marry de quoy leur Roy est si aigre . . . Mr le Tresorier est fort marry de quoy son maistre est tant passionne . . . de dire a Mr le grandmaistre les propoz de Monsgr de Suffoc touchant Cramouel"; and E. Chapuis to Charles V., December 16, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 145.

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., December 16, 1533, *loc. cit.*: "La dame disculpe fort les francois sy a faict Brian Turcq depuis son

CHAP. VII.

But Dinteville was not to be regained so easily. On his return to France he wrote a long record of what had been said, and sent it to the court, where it was received with much displeasure. It was not made less disagreeable to Francis by the fact that Henry's accusations seemed to be something more than the passing talk of an angry man. For several weeks he remained in the same temper, abusing Francis and complaining of his want of faith.[1]

At Marseilles, Jean du Bellay had offered to go once more to England to try to bring Henry to reason. He now received long and elaborate instructions as

retourd de Marseilles." *Brian Turcq*, which would mean Sir Bryan Tuke, is a clerical error for *Briant*, which means Sir Francis Bryan. Tuke was not at Marseilles, and that Sir Francis was sent in October from France to England we know from the Account of Jean du Bellay, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, 33, fol. 57: "Prevoyant le Roy la precipitation ou ilz estoient pour se jecter avoyt prier et persuader Bryant par plusieurs bons moyens daller en diligence faire arrester toutes choses jusques a la venue du dict evesque de Paris. . . ."

[1] Mr de Castillon to J. du Bellay, November 17, 1533, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 33, fol. 19: "Je ne vous mettre qung mot des choses de se pays cest quelles sont en telz termes que le Roy dangleterre commence fort a dimynuer de lamytie et fiance qui pencoyt avoyr a jametz avec le Roy voyant que sy froydement il a procede avec le pape veu les aliances et longtemps quil ont este ensemble. Et davantaige il se resoult de toutallement se mettre et luy et son pays hors de lobeissance du pape voulant faire prescher la sainte parolle de dieu par tout son pays ayant ferme foy que par icelle nostre seigneur laydera en son bon droit. Qui est une chose tres mauvaise pour lexemple que les aultres princes y pourront prendre, touteffois il en est tout resolu et la pluspart des seigneurs dautour de luy et de tout le pays y sont ja enclins"; and E. Chapuis to Charles V., December 6, 1533, Vienna Archives. P.C. 228, i. fol. 132.

to the past, containing a defence of the proceedings of Francis and a severe criticism on those of Henry. In carrying on negotiations du Bellay was to have great latitude, because, being more intimately acquainted with England, Henry, and the Boleyns, than anybody else in France, he would know best what could be done.[1] With this mission the bishop left, saw Dinteville on the road, and arrived at London on the 17th of December.[2] He found (as Francis had been warned) that Henry had decided to reject openly the papal supremacy, and that all the necessary preparations for the schism had been made.[3] But du Bellay was not disheartened. He was much liked by Anne, who trusted his friendship for her, and from her he feared no very stubborn resistance. In dealing with Henry, the bishop adopted a bold but judicious course. When the king again broke out into complaints and recriminations, accusing Francis of having violated his word, du Bellay interrupted him with a threat of instant war.[4] The decided tone of the

Du Bellay at the English court. December 17, 1533.

[1] Account of du Bellay, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 33, fol. 52.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., December, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 149.

[3] Henry VIII. to Sir John Wallop, December 1533, *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 524.

[4] Account of Jean du Bellay, *loc. cit.*, fol. 61 : "Et pource que encores avoyt le dict Roy adjouste parlant a quelqung que le Roy luy avoit promis de jamais ne faire ce mariaige sans son consentement expres et quen ceste promesse luy avoyt failly, des aultres choses qui ne touchoyent son honneur il estoit pour en pardonner une bonne partie a la passion et colere de son frere. Mays quand a ce qui touchoyt son honneur il ny avoyt homme

CHAP. VII.

Henry's concession.

bishop made some impression on Henry, and he went so far as to promise that he would not separate from Rome if, within nine weeks, he heard from du Bellay that the pope, without further proceedings, would issue before Easter-day a brief annulling the sentence of the 11th of July, declaring the marriage with Catherine to be null and void, and confirming the marriage with Anne Boleyn.[1] If, at the end of the term of nine weeks, Henry was not informed that the pope would do before Easter-day what was required of him, the schism would be proceeded with.[2] Du Bellay knew that the proposal presented a very slender foundation for a compromise; but he had at least prevented an immediate rupture, and he hoped

au monde a qui il en laissast passer le gros dung cheveu et pour ce le prioyt en fraternite et amitie commune que sil avoyt tenu ce propoz quil sen departit car sil y vouloyt perseverer il scavoyt bien ce quil avoyt accoustume de respondre quand on le chargeoyt de son honneur et en avoyt veu peu dannees au precedent lexperience et que luy nen povoit pas moins actendre."

[1] Castillon to Francis I. March 16, 1534, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Francais, vol. 5499, fol. 197: "Quand Monsieur de Paris partit dicy la conclusion que ce Roy print avec luy estoit que si sans forme de proces nostre Sainct Pere luy vouloit accorder sa demande et que ce fust devant pasques il ne procederoit point a la separation de lobeissance de leglise romaine. Mais si dedans ce terme it navoit la dicte sentence il en feroit la publication."

[2] J. du Bellay to Castillon, February 8, 1534, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Francais, vol. 5499, fol. 191: "Que je ne soye prins de si pres que du xxvme de ce moys;" and J. du Bellay to Francis I., February 8, 1534, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Francais, vol. 5499, fol. 189: "Quil vous plaise ordonner une bonne depesche en angleterre pour impetrer ung peu plus de temps que celuy quon a donne a moy de Paris."

that in the course of the negotiation Henry would become more tractable. With this result he left the English court on the 29th of December, and went in all haste to confer with Francis and Montmorency.[1] CHAP. VII. December 29, 1533.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 3, 1534, Vienna Archives, P.C. 229, i. fol. 1.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PAPAL SENTENCE.

HENRY did not consider that his concessions to du Bellay bound him to remain idle until the pope should arrive at a final decision. The policy advocated by Anne, Cranmer, and the other reformers, was indeed pursued with new vigour. If the pope chose to submit, to annul all that had been decided at Rome, and to ratify all that had been done in England, so much the better. If not, Henry wished to be ready for definite action.

Henry's aims.

What he wanted was that his spiritual supremacy should be fully admitted, that his marriage with Anne should be acknowledged to be valid, and that Elizabeth should be recognised as heir apparent. During the session opened on the 15th of January parliament was to be engaged in passing the necessary measures.

An attempt to coerce the clergy.

But there was still so strong a feeling in England against the marriage of Henry with Anne, that the government considered it prudent to take some preliminary steps before submitting the matter to parliament. It drew up a declaration to the effect that convocation had declared the marriage of Henry and

Catherine to have been null and void from the beginning, and had pronounced the marriage of Henry and Anne to be good and lawful. This declaration the higher secular clergy and the heads of houses were called upon to sign, and every artifice was employed to obtain signatures. The recusants were threatened with the king's anger, they were reviled and insulted by the royal commissioners, and all kinds of accusations were invented against them to put them in fear of their lives.[1] A great many signatures were thus secured; but the document was opposed by no less a man than John Stokesley, the Bishop of London. That convocation had condemned the marriage of Henry and Catherine was, if not strictly true, near the truth; but Stokesley remarked that it had been prorogued before the marriage with Anne had been officially acknowledged, and that it had never even been asked to give an opinion on the subject. So he begged to be excused from signing the paper. He proposed that the text of the declaration should be altered, so as to be more in accordance with the well known facts.[2] But as this would have created fresh difficulties, the suggestion did not recommend itself to Cromwell, and after some angry discussion the paper was finally suppressed.

January 1534.

[1] Friars of Greenwich to E. Chapuis, December 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, iii. fol. 14; Account of the Proceedings of the Bishop of Chester and Master Bedell at the Convent at Greenwich, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, iii. fol. 16; and the Friars of Greenwich to Henry VIII., December 11, 1533, Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, iii. fol. 18.

[2] Stokesley to Bedell, January 4, 1534, R.O. Box Q, No. 181.

CHAP. VIII.

Mary's pretensions.

The attempt to obtain signatures to this declaration was not the only step taken to facilitate the proceedings in Parliament. An effort was also made to overcome the difficulty arising from the pretensions of Mary. The importance of this difficulty was not underrated, for Henry was well aware that most of his subjects were secretly loyal to the princess, and would do their best to defend her rights. If she herself could be made to renounce her claims as heir apparent, his way would be comparatively clear.

October 2, 1533.

Soon after the birth of Elizabeth, Mary had received orders to lay aside the title of princess, but she had stoutly refused to do so.[1] When Elizabeth was taken to Hatfield, Mary's household at Beaulieu was broken up, and she was told that she would henceforward have to reside with the princess. This

December, 1533.

message was taken to her by the Duke of Norfolk, who, when she objected, answered that he had come not to argue with her but to fulfil the orders of the king. Mary thereupon asked for half an hour to prepare for the journey, and this being granted to her she retired to her chamber, where she signed a formal protest against the compulsion to which she was subjected.[2] She then allowed herself to be

[1] Mary Tudor to Henry VIII., October 2, 1533, P. Heylin, *Ecclesia Restaurata*, ed. 1660, p. 10.

[2] Chapuis to Charles V., December 16, 1533, Vienna Archives, P. C. 228, i. fol. 143: "Il luy dit quil nestoit venu pour disputer ains pour accomplir la voulente et commandement du Roy questoit tel que dessus et voyant la dicte princesse quil ny avoit excuse ne replicque que peust servir elle demanda respit de demy heure pour entrer en sa chambre ou elle demoura environ le dict espace,

placed in a litter, and to be taken to Hatfield, her new place of abode. If this harsh treatment somewhat lowered her spirit, she received a little consolation from a quarter whence it was least expected. During the journey it happened that Doctor Fox, the king's almoner, and one of the royal commissioners, rode alone at the side of her litter. He seized the opportunity to say to her secretly that she had done well not to submit. For the love of God and the welfare of the realm he besought her to remain firm. The other commissioners coming up, Fox once more became the harsh agent of Henry, but Mary was encouraged by perceiving that even the most trusted ministers of her father were at heart in her favour.[1] CHAP. VIII.

At Hatfield Mary was entrusted to the care of Lady Shelton, a sister of Anne's father. This lady, of course, did all she could to subdue what she considered

pour faire et passer a ce quentends une protestacion que luy avois envoye afin que si par force ou tromperie il la vouloient faire renuncer a ses drois ou marier a leur appetit ou la faire entrer en clostre que cela ne luy pust prejudicier et revenant de sa dicte chambre elle dit au duc que puis quil playsoit ainsy au Roy son pere quelle ny vouloit desobeyr;" and Protestation of Mary, holograph, attested by Maurice Mistralis de Aviernez as notary; Vivianus Montesa, Pern, Machet, and Gleyrod, witnesses at London. Vienna Archives, P.C. 229, ii. fol. 50.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 10, 1534, Vienna Archives, P.C. 229, i. fol. 4: "Et ma aussy fait scavoir que le docteur foux que fust lung des commis avec le duc de Norfocq pour la mener ou elle est et linciter a la dicte renunciation luy avoit dit en passant ainsy quilz estoient en chemin quelle avoit respondu le plus vertueusement du monde et que pour lamour de dieu elle continua a tenir ferme autrement tout ce royaulme estoit en dangier de ruyne et perdicion. Je crois Sire que cela aydera beaulcoup a la dite princesse pour estre constante. . . ."

CHAP. VIII. the obstinacy of her ward, but she made no impression whatever; Mary held out.

Henry and Mary.

Henry, surrounded by a crowd of subservient courtiers who missed no chance of humouring his vanity, had come to believe in his own powers of persuasion. He fancied that although others might fail to influence Mary, he would have no difficulty in bringing her to his way of thinking. Accordingly, on the 10th of January he set out for Hatfield.[1] Knowing his fickleness and the pride he took in Mary's accomplishments, Anne feared that, instead of converting his daughter, he might himself be converted; so she sent Cromwell and some others of her friends after the king with instructions to prevent any meeting between him and Mary.[2] They were successful. Henry communicated with the princess by messengers (who were unable to shake her fortitude); but he had no direct inter-

January 10, 1534.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 10, 1534, *loc. cit.*: "Voyant le Roy que ceulx quil avoyt cydevant envoye devers la princesse pour luy persuader la renuntiation de son tiltre navoyent rien peu faire, il est party aujourdhuy pour experimenter si son triacle sera plus fin que celluy des aultres; et va charge de belles parolles et promesses mais beaulcoup plus de horribles menasses. . . ."

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 17, 1534, Vienna Archives, P.C. 229, i. No. 6: "Toutteffoys considerant la dame la facilite du Roy ou ligierete que louseroys dire et que par la grande beaulte, vertu et prudence de la dite princesse son pere pourroit abolir le courroux quil a contre elle et esmeu par les dictes vertuz et de compassion paternelle estre induict a la mieulx traicter et luy laisser son tiltre la dicte dame Anne envoya tout incontinent en diligence Cremuel apres le Roy et depuis aultres messaigiers pour empescher que le dict Roy en sorte du monde ne parlast a la princesse ny la vit."

view with her. When he was about to leave Hatfield, having mounted his horse, he saw her standing at a balcony, and, forgetting his resentment for a moment, he lifted his cap to her. The courtiers eagerly followed the example of their master, and bowed low to Mary, after which the whole cavalcade went away towards London.[1] A few days later, conversing with Castillon, Henry could not refrain from speaking of Mary, and when the ambassador praised her virtues he sighed deeply, and tears came to his eyes. It is gratifying to know that even he retained some feeling of compassion for the daughter whom he was so deeply injuring.[2]

Anne and Mary.

However praiseworthy such a feeling might be, Anne could not afford to let Henry indulge even

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 17, 1534, Vienna Archives, P.C. 229, i. No. 6: "Sire estant ce Roy vers sa nouvelle fille la princesse lenvoya pryer et supplier quelle luy peust baiser les mains. Il ny eust ordre dimpetrer la dicte requeste, quoy voyant la dicte princesse ainsi quil vouloit monte a cheval elle allast sur une terrasse au hault de la mayson pour le veoir; de quoy adverty le dict Sgr Roy ou par adventure par fortune il se retourna ung peu devers elle et la voyant getter a genoulx et joinctes mains il luy inclina la teste mectant la main au chappeau, lors tous ceulx que la assistoient que devant ne ousoient haulser leurs testes pour la regarder resjouiz et animes de ce que le Roy avoit fait la saluerent tres reverentement avec signifficacion de bonne volonte et compassion."

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., February 11, 1534, Vienna Archives, P.C. 229, i. fol. 32: "Sire lambassadeur de France ma compte que revenant ce Roy de veoyr sa nouvelle fille yl dit a icelluy ambassadeur quil navoit voulu parler a la princesse a cause quelle se rendoit tant obstinee envers luy et que cela tenoit elle du sang despagne. Et luy disant le dict ambassadeur que a ce quit entendoit elle avoyt este fort bien nourrie, les lermes luy vindrent aux yeulx et si ne se peult tenir de la louer de plusieurs choses."

CHAP. VIII. momentary impulses of kindness for one whom she had such good reason to fear. She remembered Cromwell's attempt to have Mary legitimated, and rightly suspected him of being still favourable to her;[1] and it seemed not impossible that the king himself would by-and-bye share the sympathies of the secretary. On the 15th of January Anne spoke to the king, reproaching him for allowing Mary too much liberty, and for permitting her to receive advice and encouragement. To Anne it was incredible that that the answers framed by Mary could be prepared by so young a girl without help.[2]

January 15, 1534.

With this opinion Henry was disposed to agree. During the summer of 1532 Mary's movements had been watched, and Lord and Lady Exeter, who were known to be her great friends, had been forbidden to visit her.[3] Now the king's suspicions had again

[1] Cromwell's Memoranda, end of 1533, British Museum, Cotton MSS., Titus B. i. fol. 461, and Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. vi. p. 251: "Those things with my Lady Mary which are not meet for the princess to be also brought thither. To remember what danger is in war and that the commons were better to bear a contribution to find in the estate that she now is in and to avoid war than to diminish anything." The last sentence is struck out.

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 17, 1534, Vienna Archives, P.C. 229, i. fol. 8: "Sire lon me vient de dire que avant hier la dame ayant entendu les responces si prudentes de la princesse elle avoit faict grand querymonie au Roy de ce quil ne faisoit tenir si court la princesse quelle ne feust si bien conseillee ni advisee quelle avoit este jusques yci, et que nestoit a croire que ses responces et propoz vinssent sans suggestion dautruy."

[3] E. Chapuis to Charles V., July 22, 1532, Vienna Archives, P.C. 227, iv. fol. 57: "Le duc de Norphoc a ces jours, premierement en particulier et puis en presence du conseil du Roy, deffendu

fastened upon Lord Exeter, and about Christmas, 1533, he used very threatening language to the marquis. It was Mary's confidence in the emperor, said Henry, that made her so wilful and obstinate. But she would soon have to submit, for he feared neither the emperor nor anybody else. It would be the duty of his subjects to stand by him if a conflict arose, and he did not doubt that they would do so. Persons who played him false would pay for it with the loss of their heads. He would cause such good watch to be kept that no one would be able either to send letters to, or to receive letters from, the continent without his knowing it.[1] These warnings did not frighten Lord Exeter, who continued by means of his wife to correspond with Chapuis.

CHAP. VIII.

Lord Exeter warned. December, 1533.

To the complaints of Anne, Henry replied that henceforward Mary should be more closely guarded; and we find that shortly afterwards the Duke of

Lady Shelton's insubordination.

au Marquis que sur lindignacion du Roy que luy ne sa femme deussent aller en lieu que se treuve la princesse le mesme a este dit au frere du grand prieur de Saint Jehan qua sa mayson tout aupres de la dicte princesse et a este commande a celluy qua la garde delle que fasse bon guet sur ceulx que la yront veoir et de tout cecy me vint hier advertir la marquise mesmes."

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 17, 1534, Vienna Archives, P.C. 229, i. No. 6: "Et y a environ xx jours que le dict Sr Roy dit au Marquis que la confiance que la dicte princesse avoit a Vre Mate la rendoit difficile et obstinee, mais que la feroit venir au point car il ne craignoit ni Vre Mate ni aultre, mais que le dict Marquis et aultres ses vassaulx luy feussent loyaulx quil pensoit quilz seroient et que aussy ne besoignoit que nul deulx ne chancellast ny variast le moings du monde quil ne vouldroit perdre la teste et quil feroit faire si bon guect quilz ne scaurroient escripre ny recepvoir lectres de dela la mer quil nen soit adverty."

CHAP. VIII. *February*, 1534.

Norfolk and Lord Rochford upbraided Lady Shelton for her leniency and weakness, and ordered her to treat Mary more severely, as the bastard she was. Lady Shelton, who seems to have been a good woman, and to have pitied her unhappy ward, answered with much spirit that Mary was kind and gentle and did not merit harsh treatment. Anne was enraged at this insubordination of her aunt, and became even more indignant when she heard that some Essex peasants had assembled under Mary's balcony and cheered her, calling out that she was the rightful princess.[1] It is said that Anne, after this display of loyal feeling, sent an order to Lady Shelton, directing that Mary should be beaten if she persisted in calling herself princess, and that if she would not dine at the common table she was to have nothing to eat at all.[2] But Mary was not beaten, and the king was charged the extravagant

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., February 21, 1534, Vienna Archives, P.C. 229, i. fol. 37: "A laquelle gouvernante le duc de Norfoch et le frere de la dicte Anne dirent naguyeres beaulcoup de grosses parolles a cause quelle usoit trop dhonnestete et humanite a leur semblant envers la dicte princesse que comme il disoit ne debvoit estre hõnoree ny traictee que comme une bastarde quelle estoit. A quoy respondist laultre que oyres que ainsy fust voyre quelle fust bastarde dung pouvre gentilhomme que sa bonte doulceur et vertu meritoient tout honneur et bon traictement;" and "Ains a cause que les paysans dautour dela la voyant pardessus une galerie la saluoient a haulte voix pour leur vraye princesse elle est maintenant tenue plus de court."

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., February 11, 1534, Vienna Archives, P.C. 229, i. fol. 32: "Quelle luy dounast des buffes comme a une mauldicte bastarde quelle estoit. . . ."

sum of ten shillings a week for the breakfast and supper which were supplied to her in her room.[1] CHAP. VIII.

Anxious to use every weapon with which it was possible to strike at the opponents of the divorce, the government tried at this time to profit by the accusations against the holy maid of Kent and those who had been associated with her. After she had stood at St. Paul's Cross, Cranmer had written a book railing against her vain prophecies; and he was irritated by hearing of a reply by a certain friar Dering, whom Cromwell had just saved from his clutches. Dering, when examined, declared that he had burned his book; but Cranmer declined to believe him, kept him in prison, and vehemently demanded that he should be visited with all the rigour of the law. The archbishop also asked Cromwell to have the other adherents of the nun re-examined, and urged that "good and politic mean" should be taken at once for their trial.[2] *The Nun of Kent.* *January,* 1534.

Cromwell had no theological hatred, but as it suited his purpose to adopt Cranmer's advice, the friar was kept in confinement, and new arrests were made. The nun could not very well be tried again, but the government framed a bill of attainder against her, and against her aiders and abettors, for high treason and misprision of treason. The general tenour of the bill was not concealed, but the names included in it were kept secret. The consequence was that everybody who had ever encouraged the nun was in

[1] Privy purse expenses of the Lady Elizabeth.

[2] Archbishop Cranmer to Cromwell, January 5, 1534, R.O. Cranmer letters, No. 10.

CHAP. VIII. no little anxiety, and, fearing that his name might be on the terrible list, was anxious to please the king. In this way the government bridled the opposition, and, as nearly as they could, ensured the passing of the bills of succession.

Du Bellay at Pied de Pappe.

But during the first days of the session no measures of any moment were proposed. Henry evidently wished to hear what du Bellay might be able to do at Rome. On leaving England the bishop had repaired to the French court, which he had found at Pied de Pappe, near Avignon.[1] Here he gave an account of what he had obtained from Henry VIII.; and the French king, the constable, and the bishop concerted a plan for carrying on the negotiation. They felt confident that, if the pope gave way in the matter of the divorce, Henry might be brought by flattery and gentle pressure to make larger concessions than he had yet offered. Their idea was that the pope should first be thoroughly frightened, and afterwards bribed. It was agreed that he should be lured by the proposal of a marriage between his nephew Alexander dei Medici and Mary Tudor—the latter relinquishing her pretensions to the English throne,

[1] J. du Bellay and C. de Denonville, Bishop of Mâcon, to Francis I., February 8, 1534, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Français, vol. 5499, fol. 189. Of this letter, as well as of others referring to this matter, abstracts have been published in the seventh volume of the *Letters and Papers*, edited by Mr. Gairdner. Owing to the involved style of du Bellay and Castillon, and to the errors of copyists, these abstracts differ very considerably from the true sense. I am informed that the mistakes are to be corrected in the forthcoming volume of the *Letters and Papers*, but in the meantime I feel obliged to quote more fully from the letters than I would otherwise have done.

but receiving a good dowry—and that the old plan of a tribunal at Cambray should be revived in a modified form. Two cardinals were to go there by stealth, an agent of Henry was to meet them, and the cause was to be heard and judgment given in favour of the king before Catherine and her friends could become aware of the opening of the court.[1]

The advantages of this scheme, if it could have been accomplished, would have been great indeed for Francis and for du Bellay. The French king would have embroiled the pope and Henry in everlasting enmity with Charles, and he would have secured the alliance of both. Duke Alexander would have been made dependent on France, and a firm footing would thereby have been gained in upper Italy. As for du Bellay, a cardinal's hat would have been his reward from the pope, while Henry would have conferred on him large gifts or preferments.

All these high hopes of the French triumvirate were nearly blighted at the beginning. Du Bellay fell seriously ill on the road, suffering from such violent rheumatism that he could not bear even to be carried in a litter. But the ardent desire to try his abilities at the papal court overcame all obstacles. As soon as he recovered a little he had himself carried in a chair, and although he suffered the

[1] J. du Bellay and C. de Denonville to Francis I., February 8, 1534, *loc. cit.*: "Aujourdhuy nous susmes entrez sur le moyen des deleguez en quoy a este garde lordre quil vous avoit pleu recorder a moy de Paris allant a la messe a pied pappe . . ." and J. du Bellay to Castillon, February 22, 1534, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Français, vol. 5499, fols. 191-6.

CHAP. VIII. severest pains, he was able to reach Rome on the 2nd of February.[1]

February 2, 1534.

Du Bellay at Rome.

According to the plan laid down at Pied de Pappe, the bishop spoke at first only of the dangers which would befall Christendom if Henry were definitely alienated from Rome. When, on the 6th, he was admitted before the consistory, he explained the proposed confederation of protestant states, carefully refraining from all reference to the fact that Henry's plan would be resolutely opposed by Francis, and that it had but little chance of success. Du Bellay even magnified the danger. Heresy, he said, would spread everywhere; not only England but many other realms might be lost; nay, even Rome, he hinted, might no longer be safe. He wished to terrify the cardinals into conceding all he asked for.[2]

February 6, 1534.

In private conversation he was as violent as possible. By order of Cyfuentes, Dr. Ortiz went to see him at

[1] J. du Bellay to Castillon, February 8, 1534, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Français, vol. 5499, fol. 191: "Monsieur. J'ay tant faict avec layde de dieu que je suis icy et afin que vous ne pensiez que ce ayt este sans peyne jen ay este jusqua ne pouvoir endurer que homme me portassent en une chaire. Pour le mieux jen eschaperay pour ung peu de sciatique, ce ne sera pas grand chose au mestier que je meyne;" and Cyfuentes to Charles V., February 14, 1534 British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 129.

[2] Cyfuentes to Charles V., February 14, 1534, *loc. cit.* Dr. Ortiz to Charles V., February 14, 1534, British Museum, Add. MSS. vol. 28,586, fol. 125; and J. du Bellay and C. de Denonville to Francis I., February 8, 1534, *loc. cit.*: "Il" (the Pope) "a este dopinion que nous trouvissions au consistoire pour y faire entendre ce que luy avions dicts touchant les inconvenients qui estoient prests de soubsvenir en la Chrestienete et mesmement au saint siege, aposant que si incontinent il ny estoit donne ordre. Ce qui a este faict. . . ."

the house of the resident French ambassador, the Bishop of Mâcon. Ortiz made inquiries as to the health of the Queen of England. "Which queen?" said the bishop. "The true and rightful queen," the Spaniard replied, rather annoyed by the question. "Queen Anne is well and triumphant," was du Bellay's answer; to which Ortiz responded somewhat hotly that the bishop well knew that he was speaking not of Anne, but of Queen Catherine. "Four days before I left she was very ill," du Bellay then said, but Ortiz would not believe it, for Chapuis had said nothing about Catherine being ill, and indeed it was perfectly untrue. The doctor now began to blame Cranmer for his contempt of the Holy See. "Cranmer," du Bellay sharply replied, "is held by the English to be a very saint. The English care nothing for papal censures and briefs; they have taken a lesson from the Flemish, who have torn down the papal briefs from the church doors." The conversation continued in this strain, du Bellay evidently trying to bully the Spaniard and to frighten the advocates of Catherine.[1]

CHAP. VIII. *"Which queen?"*

But du Bellay was not acquainted either with the character of the papal court or with that of the pope himself. He thought Clement a weak coward of no great talent, whom he, du Bellay, might easily overreach. "Le bonhomme," he called him at this time. A year later he spoke of Clement as the old fox, and mentioned his cleverness with a certain awe. The experience of two months had taught him that Clement VII. was more than a match for him.

Du Bellay and the pope.

[1] Dr. Ortiz to Charles V., February 13, 1534, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 125.

CHAP. VIII.

Du Bellay and the papal court.

With the papal court du Bellay was not on good terms. When he drew a fearful picture of the expected schism, the cardinals were unanimous in deploring it deeply, but equally unanimous in considering the matter past remedy.[1] The other courtiers were either openly hostile or coldly distant; and the few pensioners of Henry spoke in a desponding tone.[2] But du Bellay did not lose heart; relying on his influence with the pope, and on the brilliant advantages he was charged to offer, he believed failure to be impossible. It seemed to him, indeed, that matters had already taken a favourable turn, and that the pope was becoming more and more inclined to grant all that was wanted.[3] Concession after concession was made by Clement VII.

[1] J. du Bellay and C. de Denonville to Francis I., February 8, 1534, *loc. cit.*: "Et ont este trouvees les advertissements et remonstrances faictes ladessus sy bonnes que toute la compaignye sen sent merveilleusement obligee et tenue a vous. Mais quand se vient aux remedes et expediens la plus grande partye sy trouvent si empeschez que qui ne leur tiendroit la bride bien royde ilz auroient bientost faict ung mauvais sault."

[2] G. Ghinucci to Andrea Ghinucci, February 9, 1534, British Museum, Cotton MSS. Vitellius, B. xiv. fol. 116; and G. Gianetto to Sir John Wallop, February 14, 1534, *ibid.*, Vitellius, B. xiv. fol. 118.

[3] J. du Bellay and C. de Denonville to Francis I., February 8, 1534, *loc. cit.*: "Nous ne voyons que de la se puisse rien esperer de bon; et si riens sy peult faire il faudra que ce soit nostre Sainct Pere qui le face secretement et a part a quoy nous taschons par tous moyens de le persuader." J. du Bellay to A. de Montmorency, February 8, 1534, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Français, vol. 5499, fols. 1896: "Et ma faict et faict journellement pour respect du Roy plus de recueil que je ne merite et suys bien abuze ou il a grant envye en tant que touche le dict Sieur de bien faire."

CHAP. VIII.

Clement's policy.

But the pope was quietly outwitting the overbearing Frenchman. He had not forgotten the insult offered to him at Marseilles; and, although he had no wish to displease Francis, he was determined not to interfere any longer between Henry and the due course of law. Immediately after Bonner had read the appeal to him, he had tried to bring about an alliance between the emperor and the king of France for the destruction of Henry. He had not been able to overcome the mutual distrust of the rival monarchs, but he had not given up his purpose. Two days after his return from Marseilles, he had been waited upon by Count Cyfuentes; and Clement, who had always seemed to shun a conversation about the divorce, at once eagerly asked the ambassador what was to be done in the matrimonial cause of England. Cyfuentes was rather taken aback; he said Capisucchi, the auditor who had charge of the matter, had not yet arrived, so that no steps had been taken. "Never mind," the pope exclaimed, "Simonetta may report on the matter: I want the case to be concluded." Cyfuentes was so astonished by this eagerness of the pope that he suspected some trick was being played upon him, and resolved to proceed with the greatest caution.[1]

November, 1533.

December, 1533.

But the Spaniard had soon to change his mind. The pope was in earnest, and pressed the matter on with all his might. In consistory some of the cardinals asked who would execute the sentence if it

[1] Cyfuentes to Charles V., December 13, 1533, British Museum, Add. MSS., 28,586, fol. 70.

CHAP. VIII.

were against Henry? The emperor, Clement declared, had bound himself to do so in person.[1] In reality the pope had found it impossible to induce Charles V. to make any promise of the kind; but the statement had its effect, and, the pope being so zealous, every effort was made to satisfy him. Simonetta worked with a will, and when du Bellay arrived the report was ready to be submitted to the cardinals. That the sacred college might be in a position to judge of the facts of the case, an abstract of the depositions was embodied in the report, together with a number of queries and doubts respecting the legal questions involved, on which the consistory was to decide.[2]

A few days after his arrival and his reception by the cardinals, du Bellay had a private audience of the pope, and spoke to him about remitting the cause to delegates. Clement did not absolutely refuse—nay, he showed himself well inclined—but he could not decide at once. He must have time to consider; for what would the emperor say? Du Bellay watched him with intense delight. If the pope was already so favourable, it seemed pretty certain that he would give up everything after hearing of the great match for his nephew. On the 8th du Bellay wrote to Francis, Montmorency, and Castillon, giving an account of what he had done. The two former he asked to make preparations for the mock trial at Cambray. Cardinal du Prat and Cardinal Gaddi had

Du Bellay's letters. February 8, 1534.

[1] Cyfuentes to Charles V., January 23, 1534, British Museum, Add. MSS., vol. 28,586, fol. 117.

[2] Dr. Ortiz to Charles V., February 25, 1534, British Museum, Add. MSS. vol. 28,586, fol. 124.

been proposed to the pope as judges, and they ought, the bishop wrote, to hold themselves in readiness to leave at a moment's notice for Cambray, for quickness and secrecy were all important.[1] To Castillon, du Bellay presented everything in the most favourable light, hoping that Henry might be persuaded to grant a prolongation of the term which had been accorded. Castillon was directed to advise that an excusator should be ready to leave for Rome, there to remain hidden at the English hospital until du Bellay should want him.[2] CHAP. VIII.

As these letters were despatched by a commercial courier, and as the passage of the mountains was still very difficult, they took more than a fortnight to reach Chantilly, where Francis had by this time arrived. Du Bellay's letter, and instructions to follow the bishop's advice, were immediately sent to Castillon, who received them at London on the 2nd of March.[3]

Opposition in Parliament. March 2, 1534.

Although the term granted by Henry was long past, the moment was not unfavourable for the requests Castillon had to make. Notwithstanding

[1] J. du Bellay to Francis I., February 8, 1534, *loc. cit.*: "Aussy nous semble que actendant lautre despeche sera bon de faire tenir bien secretement prestz pour leur voyage Messieurs le legat et de Guadis qui ont estez nommez a nostre dict Sainct Pere suyvant ce quil Vous avoit pleu les me proposer, car sil se peult riens obtenir, il fauldra quilz usent de telle diligence que les choses soyent faictes devant quesventees."

[2] J. du Bellay to Castillon, February 8, 1534, *loc. cit.*: "Aussy vour prye donner ordre que lexcusateur se tienne secretemment tout prest pour venir a lhospital de Rome quand je vous envoyeray mes memoires qui sera pour la premiere depesche."

[3] Castillon to A. de Montmorency, March 6, 1534, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 33, fol. 46.

CHAP. VIII. Cromwell's attempt to terrify the opposition, the bills of the government had not been so well received as had been expected. Great caution had been employed. On the 31st of January the lords had been called to the star chamber, and the treaty of alliance concluded in 1532 with France had been laid before them. They were made to believe that, whatever they might assent to, England would not be attacked by the emperor. Their fears in this respect being removed, a bill was brought in on the 11th of February, settling a dowry on Catherine as Princess Dowager of Wales. This of course implied that her marriage with Henry was void, and the lords, by accepting it, would admit the fact. There was some opposition, and although most of the friends of Catherine and Mary had been excused from appearing, and the bishops, as usual, had to vote for the court, the bill did not pass for ten days. When it was disposed of, the government at once introduced the bill of attainder against Elizabeth Barton, John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Sir Thomas More, and others her aiders and abettors. But here the lords proved more difficult to manage. The bill was read a second time on the 26th of February, but the opposition proved so strong that it had to be abandoned for a while.[1] In the Lower House, too, there had been a struggle. The bill about Catherine's dowry had been obstinately resisted; and one argument urged against it the government could not disregard. Henry VII. had pledged the whole of the goods of his subjects for the fulfilment of the treaty of the 23rd of June, 1503,

January 31, 1534.

February 11, 1534.

February 26, 1534.

[1] *Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. i.

and for the payment of her revenues to Catherine; and the members for London now pointed out that if the bill passed Charles would have a perfect right to seize their property in Spain and Flanders. The danger, they said, was great, for if they could not trade in safety with Spain and Flanders English commerce would be ruined. Sharp debates took place and the bill did not pass.[1] CHAP. VIII.

Popular discontent.

Nor had the king better reason to be pleased with the temper of the people than with that of parliament. With the exception of a very few fanatics and some of Anne's creatures and dependents, everybody in England looked forward to a separation from Rome with grave alarm. Henry was well aware of this, and had he had any doubts they would have been dispelled on Ash Wednesday. On that day the clergyman appointed to preach before the king maintained in his sermon that the authority of the pope was the highest on earth. If he abused his power he was to be judged by a general council, but not otherwise. Moreover, saints ought to be honoured, and pilgrimage was acceptable to God and profitable to man's soul. Henry was of course displeased, and the courtiers cried out that the preacher had turned papist. But the king knew that what Hugh Latimer had the courage to tell him to his face the immense majority of his subjects secretly believed.[2]

February 18, 1534.

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., March 7, 1534, Vienna Archives, P.C. 229, i. fol. 54.

[2] —— to Mr. Fowler, London, February 20, (dated 26th Henry VIII., but clearly written in spring, 1534), British Museum, Cotton MSS. Vitellius, B. xiv. fol. 119.

CHAP. VIII.

Anne attempts to subdue Mary.

February, 1534.

The king was also vexed by Mary's steadfast assertion of her rights. Threats having failed to make any impression on her, Anne determined that she herself would try what could be done by soft and gentle means. At the end of February, she started for Hatfield; and when she arrived, she sent a message to the princess to come and salute her as the queen she was. If Mary would do so she would not only be well received, but would regain the good will of her father. Anne would intercede with the king on her behalf, and secure for her kinder treatment and a more brilliant position than she had enjoyed at any time of her life. But Mary was obdurate. She knew no queen in England, she said, except her mother; but she would be much obliged if the Lady Anne Boleyn would intercede with the king in her favour. Anne sent a fresh message with more tempting offers, but was again repulsed; whereupon she threatened to take vengeance on the obstinate girl who dared to withstand her will, swearing that she would break the haughtiness of this horrid Spanish blood.[1]

But all this only made the situation more complicated. Henry began to feel perplexed, and to throw on Anne the responsibility for his troubles. A possession of eighteen months had cooled his ardour; her great fault in having given birth to a daughter had not been forgiven; and her violent temper and the contemptuous manner in which she

[1] E Chapuis to Charles V., March 7, 1534, Vienna Archives, P.C. 229, i. fol. 54.

often treated the king wounded his vanity.[1] If his difficulties became too great, he might have to consider the expediency of sacrificing her. In the meantime, however, he had to think of his foreign policy; and what with the resistance to his schemes in Parliament, the discontent throughout the country, and the enmity of the emperor, he felt very strongly that he could not risk a rupture with Francis.

Castillon makes proposals to Henry. March 4, 1534.

Such was the state of mind in which Castillon found the king, when, after deciphering du Bellay's letter, he was received in private audience. He had no difficulty in obtaining from Henry the fairest assurances of good will. Henry spoke as if he were quite ready to do all that could be desired. But he gave no conclusive answer; he wanted first to consult his council.

The man who had most influence over Henry was certainly Cromwell. In the preceding autumn, as we have seen, he was not very unwilling to abandon Anne; but since that time he had gone too far in the other direction to be able to veer round with safety. He had of course excited the hostility of all those whom he had terrified into submission The clergy were against him, the nobles hated him; and if his policy were changed, he would probably lose his place, and perhaps his life. For the present, therefore,

[1] E. Chapuis to Charles V., January 10, 1534, Vienna Archives, P.C. 229, i. fol. 4: "Mais ou la dame veult quelque chose yl ny a personne qui ose ne puisse contredire, ny le Roy mesmes que luy est comme lon dict incrediblement subject pour ce que quand il ne veult faire ce quelle veult elle faict et fainct la forcenee ainsy que lon ma adverty."

CHAP. VIII. he remained faithful to Anne, and so did Cranmer, Audeley, and the rest of the reformers. They represented to Henry the danger of departing from the principles he had professed; they assured him that they would ultimately carry all his measures; and they warned him of the duplicity of the pope. Henry listened to them, and became once more firm in his purpose. The following day he sent for Castillon, whom he asked to repeat his message before the council. They heard it with frowning countenances, and most of them declared that the king could not again put himself in subjection.[1]

Castillon before the Council. March 5, 1534.

The ambassador tried to convince them that the course he proposed was the best for the king, for Anne, and for Elizabeth. The king ought to do all in his power to obtain a papal declaration that his marriage with Catherine was of no force, and that his marriage with Anne was good and lawful. The position of Anne and the succession to the crown would thus be assured, for all the arguments of Henry's adversaries were based on the power of the pope to dispense and on the sentence of the 11th of July. Besides, the friendship of the pope would enable Henry to defeat the intrigues of the emperor. The king ought to

[1] Castillon to A. de Montmorency, March 6, 1534, *loc. cit.*: "Le lendemain que jeuz adverty ce Roy de lesperance en quoy me mectoit Monsr de Paris il menvoya querir et me prya luy reciter de nouveau devant son conseil ce que luy avoys le jour davant dict de par Monsr de Paris et aprez que leur eu compte a veoir leur contenances la pluspart deulx ny trouvoit poinct de fondement et disoient que le Roy navoit que faire de se mectre en telle subjection. Je trouvay aussi le Roy tout refroidy des propoz qui mavoit tenuz le jour de davant."

prefer this way, which was quite safe, to that which he was now pursuing and which was full of peril.[1] CHAP. VIII.

But Castillon's eloquence was thrown away; the councillors remained decidedly hostile to his proposals. When the council broke up, the ambassador had begun to grow angry and to speak of ingratitude towards the king his master.[2]

Henry's private interview with Castillon.

Henry's confidence seems to have been somewhat shaken by Castillon's arguments. He took the ambassador into a garden, and, having made him promise secrecy, undertook to extend still further

[1] Castillon to A. de Montmorency, March 6, 1534, *loc. cit.*: "A lheure je les priay de mescouter et leur dis tout ce que je pensoys que pouvoit esmouvoir se Roy non seullement de prandre par les mains de nostre Sainct Pere la declaracion de son premier mariaige estre nulle et celuy ci bon, mais que daventaige par tous les moyens quon pourroit pencer il devoit chercher paix et amytie avec luy. Et quant au premier que me sembloit ny en avoir point de meilleur, pour mettre en seurete la Royne et apres oster toutes contradicions que pourroient cy apres survenir que les enfans de ce mariaige ne feussent vraiz heritiers, que si par lauctorite de nostre dit Saint pere les choses estoient faictes et confermees. Et que tout se que ses malveillans scavent mettre en avant nest fonde que la dessuz. Quant au second quil ne scaurroit mieulx rompre le dessain de lempereur qui parle si hault et fait des menees que jentens ne sont a laventaige de se roy que avec lamytie du Roy mon maistre prandre celle de nostre Sainct pere. Car lempereur en sera dautant afoybly et luy plus fortifie qui sont toutes choses premierement pour layse et repoz du Roy secondement au temps a venir pour la seurete de la succession de se Royaume aux enfans qui viendroient de se dit mariaige."

[2] *Ibid.*: "Oultre quon auroit bien peu de regard au Roy son bon frere, qui a tant fait et travaille pour cest affaire, que, si le peut mettre a bonne fin, toutes ses paines et employs reveinsent a rien."

CHAP. VIII. the term that had been granted to du Bellay. He would make no haste to have anything published against the authority of the Holy See; only the money which had formerly gone to Rome should go no longer. Du Bellay had written of a certain memorial; and when it arrived, the excusator, as had been suggested, should be despatched to Rome.[1] Castillon was delighted to hear all this. He did not see that Henry bound himself to nothing, but only provided a way of escape in the event of his circumstances becoming desperate. To Castillon, Henry's offers seemed to show real good will, and on the 6th he wrote, full of joy, to Montmorency, describing all that had happened. He enclosed in cipher a letter which he asked to be forwarded to du Bellay.

Du Bellay's report from Rome. February 22, 1534.

Without waiting for any reply, du Bellay had continued his labours at Rome. On the 22nd of February he sent off the memorial alluded to in

[1] Castillon to A. de Montmorency, March 6, 1534, *loc. cit.*: "Et apres Monseigneur quelques autres petits propoz le Roy me mena en ung jardin ou il macorda, me priant toutes foys que je le tinse secret car je pense quil crainderoit bien quon pensast que sy soubdainement il se fut condescendu a telle requeste, qui ne se hasteroit de riens faire publier contre lobeïssance du pape et quil atendroit comme se porteroient plus avant les choses du coste de Rome; bien quil reformera que si grand somme de deniers qui souloit aller au pape nyroit plus. Daventaige que me fait plus pencer que se veult remectre au bon train, cest que quand Monsr de Paris envoyra les memoires qui mescript quil doit envoyer, il pourveoira a lexcusateur pour lenvoyer a Rome ainsi que Monsieur de Paris escript. Conclusion: il me semble que combien que le feu soit partout se royaume contre nostre Saint Pere que par le moyon du Roy et linclinacion que ce Roy y a la pluspart des affaires de nostre dit Sainct pere sy rabilera."

former despatches, containing the concessions he had been able to obtain from the pope, and indicating the points about which there was no difference of opinion. I have not been able to find either this memorial or the letter to Francis I. which accompanied it. But a letter of the same date to Castillon, a postscript of the 24th of February to Francis, and Castillon's reply to the whole, are extant. From these papers may be gathered how far Clement had allowed himself to be drawn. CHAP. VIII.

Du Bellay's letter to Castillon is hastily written, and its style does little honour to a man who made some pretensions to literary skill. It shows that he was eager and violent, wholly unjust to his opponents, careless of the rights of Catherine, taken up with but one thing—the negotiation he had in hand. He began by saying that he had to contend with great difficulties. The pope was terribly afraid of the emperor, and most of the cardinals were crying out, *crucifige*, "like little devils." If Henry separated from Rome, Francis could not remain the friend both of king and pope, and the friendship of the latter it would be impossible to jeopardise, because of the affairs of Italy. The memorial was a little hard, and ought not be shown to Henry; he should merely be told that the pope was ready to send a cardinal and two assessors to hear the case at Cambray. They would not, however, according to present arrangements, receive powers to give sentence. To Cambray Henry might, at the request of Francis, send an excusator. At Rome, meanwhile, all the proceedings against Henry would remain in suspense, and the

CHAP. VIII. emperor would be very angry. Du Bellay would continue his exertions, and hoped to obtain security that sentence should be given in favour of Henry, in which case the delegates at Cambray might receive powers to pronounce it. If the pope were no longer in fear of the emperor, and, above all, if the marriage of Duke Alexander with Mary were assented to by Henry, everything would be sure to go smoothly.[1]

[1] J. du Bellay to Castillon, February 22, 1534, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Français, vol. 5,499, fols. 191-6: "Je laisse le pape en une perplexite si grande que ceulx qui le cognoissent disent ne lavoir jamais veu en plus grande . . . voyant de combien cela luy importe. Mais il est icy si captif de lempereur et si fort menasse quil nose luy desobeyr en rien et voila toute la maladie; joinct que la pluspart de ces cardinaux cryent sur luy en ceste matiere crucifige comme beaulx petits diables" . . . "pour parler a vous a estomac ouvert je suis seur que quand le dict sieur aura faict ce quil veult faire il sen trouvera bien empesche" . . . "et ung aultre grand inconvenient sen en suit que je ne voy point comment il sera possible que le Roy puisse demourer amy de tous deux et de cestuy cy ne peult il departir pour les practiques ditalye" . . . "quant au memoire que jenvoye de ce que le pape ma consenty on na que faire de le luy communicquer car il est ung peu dur; seulement luy fault dire que le pape est content denvoyer ung Cardinal a Cambray avec deux adjoinctz qui cognoistront de la matiere jusques a la diffinitive exclusivement. Il peult respondre sil luy plaist que pour complaire au Roy son frere il est content de veoir que ces deleguez vouldront dire" . . . "et demoureront icy toutes choses au croc dont lempereur enragera tout vif. Je veux que cependant quilz yront dicy a Cambray on regarde si on se pourra asseurer quilz donnent la sentence comme nous la demandons et lors nous poursuyurons de leur faire amplier leur pouvoir jusques a la diffinitive inclusivement. Le vray moyen de sasseurer sera que le pape se treuve plus en liberte de lempereur quil nest et surtout qui pourroit asseurer entre eulx le mariage du duc Alexandre a la fille du Roy ce seroit la conclusion des escriptures ce coste icy."

Du Bellay once more assured Castillon of the goodwill Clement bore to Henry, but the poor man was daily threatened by the imperialists for what he had already done in favour of the king. If Henry would send the excusator du Bellay was willing to pledge his head that he would succeed. Castillon was to put the king on his guard against false friends, and to use every means to convince him that the course proposed by du Bellay was the safest and best for him. "Use all the herbs of sorcery," the bishop wrote; "until I have your reply the devils may rage, but they will obtain nothing against us here at Rome." [1] CHAP. VIII.

Such were the principal contents of this strange letter. At first sight one naturally suspects that it was composed in order to be shown to Henry, and that the bishop gave a more favourable account of

[1] J. du Bellay to Castillon, February 22, 1534, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Français, vol. 5,499, fols. 191-6: "Le pape na moings denvye dapprouver le mariage du Roy que luy mesmes" . . . "Je ne suys pas trop papiste mais par ma foy il me faict grand pitie de le veoir en la peyne ou il est. Seulement pour se formalister pour le Roy dangleterre comme il faict, ouvertement et en beaux plains consistoires il est menasse et non pas de poires cuictes" . . . "sil men veult laisser faire je prens a ma charge sus mon honneur de luy rendre son cas despeche" . . . "il naura quen-voyer lexcusateur et quil me laisse faire le demourant. Si je ne luy conduictz les choses a son appetit, ne intervenant rien de nouveau, je me veulx rendre a luy quil me fasse trencher la teste" . . . "et vous soubzvienne de celluy que nous presumions vouloir sa ruyne. Je vous respondz quil est vray mais je scay a qui je parle. Considerez tout cecy et aultant que Vous aymez ce prince et que Vous scavez que je luyme mettez y toutes les herbes de la Saint Jehan; actendant vostre responce les diables pourroient enrager quilz nobtiendront riens icy contre nous."

CHAP. VIII. things than he himself believed to be warranted. But it is quite clear that the letter was meant to be read by Castillon alone. The bishop several times asserts that he speaks nothing but the truth, and other letters show that he wrote to Francis very much in the same strain. The letter must, therefore, be taken as representing the real opinions and hopes of du Bellay.

The letter arrived at Brie Comte Robert, near Paris, early in March, and on the 5th it was sent to Castillon with further instructions to do all he could to assist du Bellay and to bring Henry to accept an arrangement.[1] On its way to London it was crossed by the courier who carried Castillon's letter of the 6th. This letter reached Paris on the 12th, at the very moment when Montmorency was writing a reply to du Bellay's letter of the 24th of February, which he had just received. As the bishop's letter confirmed the good news he had already sent, and stated that he had obtained still further concessions about details, Montmorency was highly pleased and wrote to him in most eulogistic terms. Francis, Montmorency said, was very much gratified by all

Montmorency congratulates du Bellay. March 12, 1534.

[1] Castillon to Francis I., March 16, 1534, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Français, vol. 5,499, fol. 197; and A. de Montmorency to J. du Bellay, March 12, 1534, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Dupuis, vol. 265, fol. 230. Cipher, undeciphered: "Jay tousjours faict envoyer *en angleterre* tout ce que Vous y avez escript et mesmes *le chiffre quavez adresse au sieur de Castillon* duquel jay monstre au Roy le double que Vous mavez envoye que le dict seigneur a trouve tres bon *et a escript au dict Castillon* par courrier que jay depesche expres pour le pourter plus seurement *quil eust a se conduire envers le Roy dangleterre selon cela.*"

that had been achieved at Rome. There seemed to be every probability of success, which would be a great boon to Christendom. Du Bellay ought not to trouble himself about the opposition of the imperialists, but should go on exactly as he had hitherto done.[1] Montmorency had written so far when Castillon's letter of the 6th of March arrived. His satisfaction was increased by what the ambassador had to tell him, and he added a few lines to his letter to du Bellay to compliment him on the success he had had with Henry, and to express a hope that, contrary to the general expectation, a good result would be obtained.[2] CHAP. VIII.

A forged letter.

But Montmorency was mistaken. Castillon had already begun to feel that Henry was not sincere.

[1] A. de Montmorency to J. du Bellay, March 12, 1534, *loc. cit.*: "Monsr jay receu toutes Vos lettres et veu celles quavez escriptes au Roy qui a tousjours veu et entendu le tout par la ou il a tresbien cogneu que navez rien oublie ni obmis a faire entendre a nre St. pere de ce quil Vous avoit ordonne luy dire et quavez pu penser estre pour servir *en laffaire du Roy dangleterre duquel il espere que moyennant la bonne conduicte du dict affuire* que Vous avez *si bien commancee a dresser par vostre prudence sen rapportera bonne issue* qui luy seroit tel plaisir que povez penser. Vous advisant que le dict Seigneur est merveilleusement content *de Vous et de la negociation que Vous avez faicte jusques icy par de la;* de la ou il ne veult pas *que bousgez encores,* que premierement *il ne le Vous mande.* Et quant *au doubte et souspecon de quoy ont les imperiaulx* de vostre allee et demeure vers nostre Saint pere ne vous en soulciez autrement car le dict Seigneur vouldroit *que pour ung soupecon quilz en ont de Vous quilz en eussent quatre.*"

[2] *Ibid.*: Jay eu tout a ceste heure *responce de Castillon* qui Vous escript de la bonne volunte en laquelle Vous avez mis *le Roy dangleterre qui me faict esperer que vostre allee portera oultre loppinion de beaulcoup de gens quelque bel fruict pour la crestiente.*"

CHAP. VIII. About the 10th of March the ambassador had received du Bellay's letter of the 22nd of February, and that of Montmorency of the 5th of March.[1] Instead of showing du Bellay's letter to Henry, he cleverly concocted another, in which all that was to remain secret or that might wound the king's vanity was carefully left out. This forged copy he took to the king and palmed it off as the genuine letter that du Bellay had written.[2] But hopeful as the tone of this paper was, Henry showed no great joy at it; his manner was not the same as it had been a week before. The concessions he had already made he did not withdraw, but he modified them in a way which made them of little consequence. He said he was ready to send an excusator, but without power to appear in his name. Moreover, out of regard to Francis, he promised that he would continue the session of parliament until after Easter, which fell on the 5th of April, and would delay publishing his separation from Rome. But he peremptorily refused to send a proctor to Cambray to represent him before the delegates. If the pope was as friendly as du Bellay and Castillon said, he ought, without any further proceedings, to give the desired sentence. If he did this, Henry would be prepared to acknowledge the papal jurisdiction[3]

[1] Castillon to Francis I., March 16, 1534, Paris, Bib. Nat. MSS. Français, vol. 5,499, fol. 197.

[2] Forged letter, dated February 21, 1534, R.O. Box Q, No. 160; and Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. vii. p. 85.

[3] Castillon to Francis I., March 16, 1534, *loc. cit.*: "Maintenant par vostre moyen ce Roy est contant denvoyer ung ex-

That is to say, Henry refused to plead, but asked that sentence should be given in his favour. This he considered just and reasonable, and he supposed that he was making a concession by waiting somewhat longer for the fulfilment of his preposterous demand. Castillon was unable to shake his resolution. CHAP. VIII.

The proposed marriage of Mary and Duke Alexander. March 16, 1534.

A few days later, on the 16th of March, the French ambassador again asked for an audience, and was admitted into the royal presence. On the preceding day he had received letters from Francis, in which he was instructed to suggest to Henry the proposed marriage of Duke Alexander with Mary. At the same time he had received a copy of the ciphered passage of a letter of du Bellay and the Bishop of Mâcon of the 24th of February. This passage contained a promise that, if the proposal to hear the case at Cambray were agreed to, the pope would remove in the meantime the censures and excommunication under which Henry had fallen

cusateur ne faisant pas semblant de luy envoyer expressement pour la peur quil a destre lie de se submectre a la jurisdiction de Rome car il sembleroit par la quil voulust renoncer a celle de Monsieur de Canturbery qui est tout leur fondement car par la leur mariage a este faict. Et encores en vostre faveur veult continuer son parlement jusques apres pasques pour differer de faire publyer la dicte separation. Et pense beaucoup avoir accorde pour lamour de Vous. Pourtant Sire affin que entendiez ce poinct le Roy vostre frere ma dict et declaire quil nenvoyra poinct de procuration devers les deleguez; mais bien, si sans forme de proces le pape luy veult accorder son affaire comme il dict que justement ne luy peult reffuser, et quil luy monstre ceste bonne volonte quon dict quil luy porte, il ne se separera point de son obeissance et differera comme il a accorde en faveur de Vous jusques apres Pasques."

CHAP. VIII. on account of the sentence of the 11th of July, 1533.[1]

Henry did not take at all well the proposal that Mary should marry Duke Alexander. It at once aroused his suspicions and wounded his vanity, for although he did everything he could to deprive Mary of her rank, he did not like to see her despised. A daughter of his, to his mind, was always a lady the greatest kings ought to honour; and to let her become the wife of a Duke of Florence seemed to him beneath his dignity. But when Castillon argued that the scheme would make the pope his staunchest friend, and that the emperor would be entirely checkmated, Henry appeared to become less hostile and said he would think about the matter. At Henry's request, Castillon stayed for dinner; and after dinner he was called once more to the king, who had meanwhile conferred with some of his councillors, and perhaps with Anne. The match was then positively refused; but Castillon was told that if Duke Alexander wished to marry in England he might have one of the king's nieces, Lady Margaret Douglas, or Lady Mary Brandon.[2]

[1] J. du Bellay and Denonville to Francis I., February 24, 1534, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Français, vol. 5,499, fol. 193.

[2] Castillon to Francis I., March 16, 1534, *loc. cit.*: "Il trouva de plain sault ceste ouverture fort nouvelle et estrange. Et apres quelques devises . . . il me prya de disner avec luy et que aprez disner nous acheverions ce propoz. Il alla en sa chambre et croys quil en parla a deux ou troys de son conseil. Conclusion Sire, apres disner il me feist responce que touchant sa fille Marie il estoit delibere den faire pour toujours comme dune chose de rien et que de celle la il nen falloit jamais parler. . . ."

Henry plainly expressed his suspicion that all these overtures were meant only to delay business, according to the pope's habit. If he did not soon perceive that the pope intended to act honestly, he would go on with the anti-papal measures on which he had determined. As to Cambray—delegates, proxy, and pleading—he remained as obstinate as ever. "Let the pope pronounce sentence in my favour, and I will admit his authority," he said; "else, it shall not be admitted."[1]

Henry encouraged by the tone of parliament.

This stubbornness was due mainly to a change which had passed over the temper of parliament. Two days after Henry's conversation with Castillon in the garden, the bill against Elizabeth Barton had been submitted to the House of Lords. Dissatisfied with the evidence against Sir Thomas More, the peers asked that he should be brought before them in the Star Chamber. The king was so enraged by what he considered an arrogant demand that he spoke of going down to the House himself, and the request was refused. Nevertheless, the name of Sir Thomas was struck out of the bill. With this victory the lords remained content, and on the 12th of March the measure was definitively adopted by the Upper House.[2]

March 6, 1534.

March 12, 1534.

[1] Castillon to Francis I., March 16, 1534, *loc. cit.*: "Mais quon veuille ung peu dilligenter. Car il a tousjours opinion que ce sont tous delaiz pour (comme il dict que nostre Sainct pere a de coustume) de plus en plus prolonger son affaire et quil ne laissera pour toutes ces ouvertures a poursuivir les choses de par de ca comme il a ja commence si bientost il ne se apercoit que ses menees soient sans dissimulation."

[2] *Journal of the House of Lords.*

CHAP. VIII.

The concession made by Henry sufficed to break up the compact force of the opposition, many of the lords thinking that they had done enough in saving More. On the same day that Barton was condemned, a bill forbidding the payment of Peter's pence to Rome came up from the Commons; and it passed without the slightest difficulty. It was read a third time without alteration almost at the very hour when Castillon was proposing Duke Alexander's marriage.[1] This success gave Henry courage; and as his spirits rose, he became less willing to yield either to Francis or to the Holy See.

March 16, 1534.

Clement and du Bellay.

As in England, so at Rome, the prospect seemed very dark for du Bellay. The bishop had begun to doubt whether, after all, "le bonhomme" was a perfectly appropriate name for Clement. To his dismay he found out that the pope was better informed than himself as to all that went on in England.[2] Through Cyfuentes and Ortiz, Clement heard everything that was reported by Chapuis; and Sir John Wallop, Henry's ambassador in France, kept up a secret correspondence with the Baron de Burgo, late nuncio in England, and thus sent much intelligence to the pope.[3] Du Bellay became somewhat alarmed, and wrote to Montmorency and to Castillon, complaining of Henry's proceedings. Henry, he

March 15, 1534.

[1] *Journal of the House of Lords.*

[2] J. du Bellay and Denonville to Francis I., March 15, 1534, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Français, vol. 5,499, fols. 193-6.

[3] Cyfuentes to Charles V., January 23, 1534, British Museum, Add. MSS. vol. 28,586, fol. 117.

said, was acting foolishly in irritating the pope; that was not the way to obtain concessions.[1]

The proceedings at Rome.

During this time the legal proceedings at Rome had made little progress; and Clement, when speaking to du Bellay, took the credit to himself. But the true reason was that the papers connected with the suit had got into disorder; legal forms had not been observed; and many little irregularities had to be redressed. On the 27th of February the matter was brought for the first time before the consistory.[2] Early in March another consistory was held, and the questions respecting the points of law were communicated to every cardinal to enable him to study them for final judgment.[3] The 23rd of March was fixed by the pope as the day on which the cardinals were to re-assemble to deliberate on the final sentence. Cyfuentes could not believe that the pope really meant to have the controversy settled at so early a date; he feared some new trick, and was more alarmed than pleased.[4] Du Bellay was more easily

February 27, 1534.

March 9, 1534.

[1] J. du Bellay and Denonville to Francis I., March 15, 1534, *loc. cit.*: "Il est vray quil se trouve plus fasche de la matiere quil nestoit au commencement pour veoir que de tant plus que sa sainctete se mect en debvoir de bien faire plus ilz se mectent de la a le vituperer par yronies et choses diffamatoires. . . Il seroit bien raisonnable que le Roy dangleterre se moderast ung peu de son coste . . ."

[2] Dr. Ortiz to Charles V., February 15 and 25, 1534, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fols. 125 and 142; Acts of the Consistory at Rome, Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. vii. p. 632.

[3] J. du Bellay and Denonville to Francis I., March 15, 1534, *loc. cit.*

[4] Cyfuentes to Charles V., February 10, 1534, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 156.

CHAP. VIII. satisfied. To him the pope represented the delay of a fortnight as a mark of goodwill to Henry; and the bishop took it to be so; he was still full of hope and ardour. He had his laugh at the cardinals, especially at Enkevoert and the Archbishop of Bari, who, he said, were busy with their books and fully determined to show the vastness of their learning. But they would find these questions a hard nut to crack.[1]

The 23rd of March was Monday of Passion Week, and the last day before Easter on which a consistory could conveniently be called. As du Bellay felt confident that the matter could not be finished at a single sitting, he was triumphant. It would stand over till after Sunday *quasimodo*, the 12th of April; and by that time he hoped to have such a reply from Henry as would induce the pope to stop the proceedings.[2]

[1] J. du Bellay and Denonville to Francis I., March 15, 1534, *loc. cit.*: "En tant Sire que touche la matiere du Roy dangleterre les gens de lempereur ont faict extreme instance de faire proceder au principal tellement que desja y a este besougne par deux consistoires et ont este baillez les doubtes a chascun des cardinaulx afin quilz estudiassent dessuz pour mieulx selon droict et raison en pouvoir opiner. Et de ceste heure sont tous ces clercs voire jusques aux cardinaulx de Bar et Denquefort empesche a remuer leurs livres estant chascun bien delibere de y desployer le tresor de sa science."

[2] *Ibid.*: "Et levent les dicts ministres de lempereur fort les cornes davoir gaigne ceste partye suz le Roy dangleterre, mais ilz ont la baye car on leur a baille tel os a ronger que Vous pouvez estre asseure que de quasimodo ilz ny donneront coup qui puisse porter dommaige au dict Sieur. Il est vray quil estoit besoin de y gaigner deux consistoires a compter jour pour jour et pour ce faire nostre dict Sainct pere est alle par advis des

CHAP. VIII.

Confidence of du Bellay and the Bishop of Mâcon.

Both du Bellay and the Bishop of Mâcon asserted that they were unable to conceive how, in dealing with the questions prepared, any cardinal could declare the dispensation of Julius II. to have ever been valid. If judgment was to be given, the imperialists would find themselves in great straits; for, were all the world hostile to Henry, it would be impossible for him to lose his case.[1]

The two bishops were not, of course, aware of the vote taken in July 1533 on the question of the validity of the dispensation. Cardinal de Tournon had been in Rome at that time, and had acceded to the decision, which had been carried by an overwhelming majority. But, as in duty bound, he had kept the matter secret, and the only two sovereigns who had heard of the vote were Charles V. and Henry VIII. It was because Henry knew what had

medecins prendre lair ceste semaine a Ostie. Si durant tout ce temps il vient responce du dict Roy dangleterre et quil accepte ce qui luy a este envoye, lors on parlera autre langaige. . . ."

[1] J. du Bellay and Denonville to Francis I., March 15, 1534, *loc. cit.*: "Quand bien . . . tout seroit alle en Angleterre les piedz contre mont si ne voyons nous pas bien comment ilz peussent donner sentence contre le dict Roy dangleterre au principal. Car Sire sur les doubtes que leur a bailles nostre Sainct pere dont nous Vous envoyons le double, il ny en a gueres, tant partiaulx puissent ilz etre, qui osassent, en telle boutique quung consistoire, maintenir la dispence avoir jamais este bonne. Parquoy Vous pouvez Sire croire que quant on en viendroit jusques la il sen trouveroit de bien empeschez. Qui nous faict derechef Vous dire que ce sera ung grand malheur si le dict Roy dangleterre ne veult entendre raison, veu que quant bien sa matiere se mectroit icy suz le bureau et que tout le monde luy seroit contraire en cas quil ne la peust gaigner a tout le moings ne la pourroit il perdre."

CHAP. VIII. happened that he declined to allow judgment to be given at Rome, and distrusted du Bellay's fine promises.[1]

Clement, never forgetting for a moment that the question had been irrevocably decided, humoured du Bellay by allowing him to raise all kinds of objections against the validity of the dispensation. The Frenchman was soon to find that in this matter he had been duped, and even he might have forgiven himself for being taken in by so clever a dissembler as Clement VII. But when he wrote that Henry's case was progressing favourably, that the suit could not be lost, common sense ought to have taught him better. Had nothing else put him on his guard, his attention ought to have been arrested by the fact that of the eight Frenchmen who then wore the red hat not one had appeared. Bourbon, Lorraine, Castelnau, du Prat, Tournon, Coligny, Le Veneur, and Givry were absent when a question of the greatest importance to their king was about to be settled. To Cyfuentes and Ortiz their reasons were well known. Had the French cardinals voted for Henry, they would have acted against their conscience; had they voted in opposition to him, they would have done violence to their political allegiance.[2] Cardinal de Tournon had openly declared that such was the true state of the case.[3] Du Bellay over-

[1] Dr. Ortiz to Charles V., March 4, 1534, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 148.

[2] Dr. Ortiz to Charles V., March 24, 1534, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 191.

[3] Dr. Ortiz to Charles V., September 9, 1533, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 1.

looked this grave symptom, and hoped where hope was folly. CHAP. VIII.

Final sentence delivered. March 23, 1534.

On the 23rd of March, at ten o'clock in the morning, the cardinals met, the doors were shut, and the consistory began. Like du Bellay, most people thought that the matter could not be decided at one sitting, and few expected to hear that day of anything of great importance.[1] It was remarked, however, that the cardinals allowed their dinner hour to pass without rising; and they were generally so punctual in this respect that curiosity began to be manifested. As hour after hour went by, the excitement increased; imperialists and anti-imperialists impatiently waited for news. The cardinals had sat for nearly seven hours when, at five in the afternoon, the doors opened and the reverend fathers appeared. The next moment it was known that sentence had been given.

At the beginning of the consistory, the cardinal-protector of France, Trivultio, backed by Cardinal Ridolfi, a personal enemy of Charles, and by Cardinal Pisani, proposed that final judgment should not be given at this sitting; but after a sharp and lengthy debate he was out-voted by a majority of nineteen votes to three. The discussion of the main question was now opened, and it quickly became clear that Henry had not a chance of success. Trivultio still did his best to prevent a final decision, but he had to give way. The question was put, and judgment was unanimously given in favour of the validity of

[1] Cyfuentes to Charles V., March 10, 1534, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 156.

CHAP. VIII. Catherine's marriage. Trivultio himself and his two followers voted with the rest.[1]

Du Bellay's perplexity. Du Bellay was astounded by this result, and, when his anger had subsided, tried in vain to account for it. By whom had he been betrayed? Such had been the cleverness of Clement that he was the only person whom the indignant bishop did not suspect. On the whole, du Bellay was disposed to think that the sentence had been given with the consent of Francis, that Cardinal Trivultio had had secret instructions. He knew no longer what to do, and decided to leave at once.[2]

March 28, 1534. While he was preparing for his homeward journey, a courier arrived on the 28th of March from Paris, with Montmorency's and Castillon's letters.[3] From the former du Bellay learned that his conduct had been approved of, from the latter that Henry had granted a prolongation of the term first accorded, and that he was ready to send the excusator. Small as these concessions were, the bishop hoped that if they were judiciously used it might still be possible

[1] J. du Bellay and C. de Denonville to Francis I., March 23 and 24, 1534, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Francais, vol. 5,499, fols. 199*b* and 201; Cyfuentes to Charles V., March 24, 1534, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 197; Dr. Ortiz to Charles V., March 24, 1534, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 191; Dr. Ortiz to Catherine of Aragon, March 24, 1534, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 195, etc.

[2] J. du Bellay and C. de Denonville to Francis I., March 23, 1534, *loc. cit.*

[3] Cardinal of Jaen to F. de los Covos, March 30, 1534, British Museum, Add. MSS. vol. 28,586, fol. 200; Cyfuentes to Charles V., April 2, 1534, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 213.

to induce the cardinals to revoke or modify the sentence, or, at least, to postpone its publication.[1] CHAP. VIII.

Du Bellay and Count Cyfuentes.

That same day, while making his farewell visits, du Bellay, chanced to meet Count Cyfuentes at the house of one of the cardinals. As the bishop's behaviour had thrown some doubts on his orthodoxy, he was anxious to justify himself. He assured the Spaniard that he had not come to Rome to contradict the good right of Catherine or to act in favour of Henry. He had neither a personal wish nor a commission from Francis to do so. He had simply wanted to point out that the pope would run the risk of losing the obedience of England by giving sentence against the king. Cyfuentes, seeing du Bellay so humble, answered politely; whereupon the latter went on to deplore the sentence that had been given. Only four hours ago, he had received a letter from Henry VIII. telling him to believe all that Castillon would write; and the substance of Castillon's letter was that Henry would acknowledge the jurisdiction of the pope if the question of the divorce were dealt with at Cambray. Cyfuentes coldly answered that these were but tricks to delay the publication of the sentence. If du Bellay, even when in England, had been unable to obtain any concessions whatever, how had it come to pass that by a simple letter he had made Henry accept a proposal that had always been obstinately rejected? Du Bellay knew not what to answer; he feebly said the Holy Spirit had enlightened Henry. "Well,"

Untrue statement of du Bellay.

[1] J. du Bellay and C. de Denonville to Francis I., April 1, 1534, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Francais, vol. 5,499, fol. 201.

CHAP. VIII. Cyfuentes replied, "in that case the Holy Spirit will move him still further to submit to the sentence." Cyfuentes added a little anecdote about the Spanish cardinal of Santa Croce, who, when leaving the consistory, had remarked to his brethren that, now sentence had been given, the French agents would be sure to say they had received power from Henry to effect a compromise. This feeling being pretty general, du Bellay's account was everywhere received with suspicion.[1]

The statement made by the Bishop of Paris to Cyfuentes was certainly untrue. Castillon wrote on the 6th and on the 16th of March to Francis, Montmorency, and du Bellay. Of these letters two only have been found, the one of the 6th to Montmorency, and the one of the 16th to Francis. From the latter it appears that between the two dates Castillon did not write either to Paris or to Rome. As in the two letters preserved, he gives a very full account of the concessions Henry showed himself willing to offer, we may safely assert that his letters to du Bellay cannot have contained any other matter of importance. The letter which the bishop received on the 28th was probably that of the 6th, which, as we know from Montmorency, arrived at Paris on the 12th. The letter of the 16th could scarcely have reached Rome on the 28th, for the roads were very bad and the mountains covered with melting snow.

Now, in the letter of the 6th to Montmorency there is not the faintest indication that Henry was as

[1] Cyfuentes to Charles V., April 2, 1534, British Museum, Add. MSS. 28,586, fol. 213.

compliant as du Bellay pretended. He is represented as simply saying that he will wait before publishing the acts against the pope, and that he will send the excusator when required, although without giving him any power whatever. From Castillon's letter of the 16th to Francis himself it is clear that Henry never went further, and that he would not hear of having the cause tried at Cambray. Du Bellay's statement had not a shadow of foundation. CHAP. VI

The Schism.

But even if it had been true, it would have mattered little. Long before the letter of Castillon reached Rome, Henry had decided on the course he would adopt. On the 20th of March the government submitted to the House of Lords a bill ratifying the marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyn and settling the succession to the crown on Elizabeth. On Saturday, the 21st, it was read a second, on Monday, the 23rd, a third time.[1] As the whole question pending at Rome was settled by this bill, it would have been foolish to pretend that Henry was still ready to admit the jurisdiction of the pope.

March 20, 1534.

March 23 1534.

It was from courtesy to Francis that Drs. Carne and Revett were sent about this time as excusators to Rome. They had no proxy from Henry, and their mission was a mere farce.[2]

That Henry was not sincere even in the few concessions he had made appears both from his deeds and from his words. He had told Castillon that

[1] *Journal of House of Lords.*

[2] E. Chapuis to Charles V., March 25, 1534, Vienna Archives, P.C. 229, i. fol. 67; and Castillon to Francis I., March 16, 1534, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. Francais, 5,499, fol. 197.

CHAP. VIII. parliament would sit until after Easter. Six days
March 30, 1534. before Easter it was prorogued, and the royal assent was given to all the bills that had been passed, with the exception of that relating to Peter's-pence. The schism was accomplished.[1]

April, 1534. Henry's double dealing is frankly disclosed in the draft of a letter addressed to Wallop in April, 1534. After directing the ambassador to invite Francis to revolt against the pope, the king continues: "And ye shall declare to our said good brother that we send not these messages and requests unto him only for displeasure that the said bishop has lately pronounced a sentence against us, contrary to the law and will of God, but ye shall assure our said good brother upon our honour that in case he had given sentence with us we would have laboured as diligently and as studiously for his reformation as we will now."[2] Whether or not we believe what Henry here says, the conclusion forced upon us by the letter is that he had been cheating Francis all the time, and that he had never had any intention of admitting the jurisdiction of Clement.

[1] *Journal of House of Lords.*

[2] Instructions to Sir John Wallop, April, 1534, R.O. Henry VIII., Box R, No. 10*a*, *b*, and *c*.

END OF VOL. I.

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